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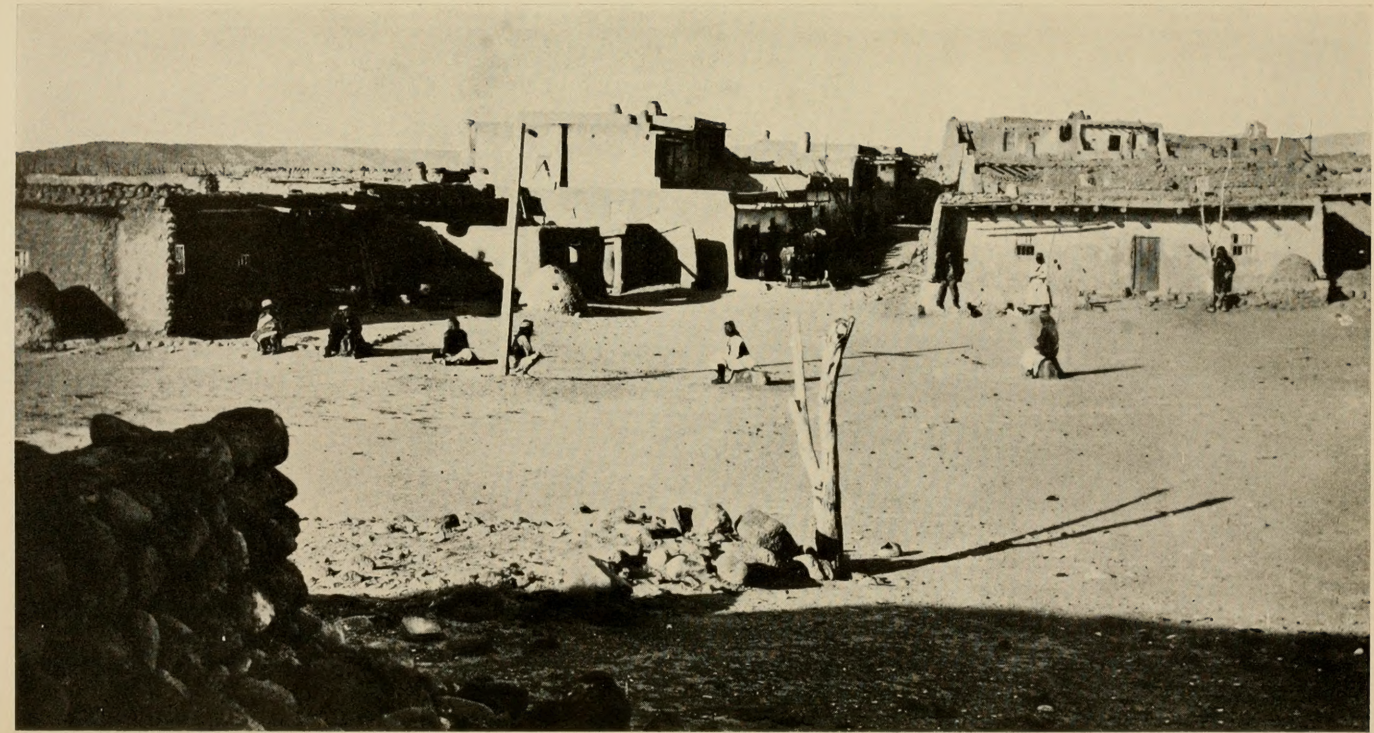
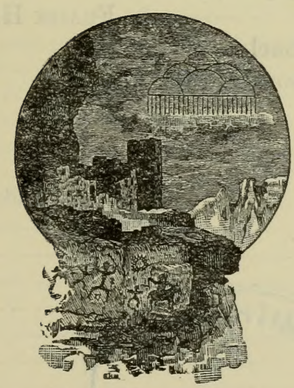


South Plaza, Sia, about 1880.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
U.S. BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 184

# THE PUEBLO OF SIA, NEW MEXICO

By
LESLIE A. WHITE



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# LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
*Washington, D.C., June 28, 1961.*

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Pueblo of Sia, New Mexico," by Leslie A. White, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr.
*Director.*

Dr. Leonard Carmichael,
*Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.*

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# PREFACE

During the many years that this study was, intermittently, in progress, I was assisted by many persons and institutions, and I wish here to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to them and to thank them warmly for their generous aid and many kindnesses.

I went into the field in September 1928, with financial support from the Southwest Society, the façade behind and the "organization" with which Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons assisted many ethnologists. I began my fieldwork among the Keres under the tutelage of Dr. Parsons, and she gave me generously of her time and vast knowledge for many years. I would like to dedicate "The Pueblo of Sia, New Mexico" to her memory.

Also in the fall of 1928, the Social Science Research Council enabled me to extend my investigations at Sia (and neighboring pueblos) with a grant.

Most of the financial support for this study, however, has come from the University of Michigan, through a number of grants from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, and a half-year's sabbatical leave from the College of Literature, Science and the Arts.

I am indebted to the Bureau of American Ethnology for access to their manuscript and photographic material. The U.S. National Museum helped me to examine Sia specimens in their collections and generously supplied me with many photographs of them. My warm thanks to the members of their staffs who helped me on numerous occasions.

I enjoyed the hospitality and facilities of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, for months at a time upon more than one occasion. And I was most generously assisted by members of their staff, especially Dr. K. M. Chapman, Stanley Stubbs, Bruce T. Ellis, and others. I am indebted to the late Mr. Stubbs and to the University of Oklahoma Press for permission to use (with some amplification) the aerial photograph of Sia in "Bird's-Eye View of the Pueblos."

I obtained many data on farming, stock raising, school attendance, and other matters from the United Pueblos Agency. From the United States Public Health Service and also from the United Pueblos Agency I obtained much information concerning health, sanitation, and diet at Sia. Both of these organizations were most cooperative and helpful.

Angus M. Babcock has redrawn, with great skill and competence, sketches of kachina masks, ceremonial costumes and paraphernalia, and diagrams of ceremonies made by my informants. I am now at liberty to thank him also for similar drawings made for "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico."

No words can adequately express my sense of obligation to my Sia informants. Some of them had a deep sense of mission in our joint labors, that of preserving for the world a record of their aboriginal culture. Some of them assisted me at considerable inconvenience and even sacrifice to themselves. And all incurred a risk, not to be minimized, in imparting esoteric and forbidden information.

My wife, Mary, was of inestimable help to me through many years of fieldwork. Her gracious personality, her warm and sincere friendliness, made our relationships with the Sias much easier and more rewarding. She performed much of the tedious labor of transcribing my field notes and typed a portion of the final manuscript. She did not live to see it finished.

To the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences I am indebted for hospitality and assistance in the final preparation of this study for publication.

Leslie A. White,
*University of Michigan,*
*Ann Arbor, Mich.*

# THE PUEBLO OF SIA, NEW MEXICO

By Leslie A. White

## INTRODUCTION

Sia was the only Keresan pueblo studied ethnologically in anything like systematic fashion during the 19th century. Adolph F. Bandelier made observations at Santo Domingo and Cochiti and possibly at other Keresan pueblos during the 1880's, but his data were spread indiscriminately throughout his "Final Report," etc., (1890, 1892), or embodied in his novel, "The Delight Makers" (1918); he published no monograph on any living pueblo. Father Noël Dumarest recorded some of his observations at Cochiti in the late 1890's, which were later edited and published by Elsie Clews Parsons. Most of the ethnographic fieldwork among the Keres has been done since World War I. Mrs. Parsons did her first work among the Keres at Laguna in 1917. She was followed by Franz Boas at Laguna in 1919; by Esther S. Goldfrank at Cochiti and Laguna in 1921; by Ruth Benedict at Cochiti in 1924; and by myself at Acoma in 1926.

In 1879 James Stevenson, of the newly organized U.S. Geological Survey, but detailed to do research for the Bureau of American Ethnology, went to Sia, where he made a collection of ethnologic specimens [1] and, presumably, initiated investigation of the social and ceremonial life of the pueblo. We do not know how much time Stevenson spent at Sia. Apparently he made two field trips: the first in 1879–80, the second in 1887. The first was probably of some weeks', or possibly months', duration. Of the second trip Maj. J. W. Powell, then director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, tells us that Stevenson spent "six remarkably successful weeks" at Sia in the fall of 1887 (Powell, 1892, pp. xxvii–xxviii). In another place he says that Stevenson's researches at Sia "were commenced . . . in 1879 and continued during 1887–88" (Powell, 1894 a, p. xxxix).

Stevenson accumulated "copious notes," says Powell, "together with photographs and sketches, and a unique collection of objective material" (Powell, 1894 a, p. xl). But his untimely death, in 1888, prevented him from preparing his material for publication. This task was undertaken by his wife, Matilda Coxe Stevenson. According to her own account, she had accompanied her husband to Zuñi in 1879, and subsequently on all of his field trips to Zuñi and to the Hopi and Rio Grande pueblos (Stevenson, 1894, p. 14). "Whenever the stay was long enough to become acquainted with the people," she writes, "the confidence of the priestly rulers and theurgists was gained, and after this conciliation all efforts to be present at the most secret and sacred performances observed and practiced by these Indians were successful" (ibid., p. 14).

---

[1] See the list of specimens from "Silla" in "Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections obtained from the Indians of New Mexico in 1880," by James Stevenson (1883, pp. 454–455).

Matilda Stevenson was, therefore, the best qualified person available to prepare her husband's material for publication. But another field trip was deemed necessary, and accordingly she went to Sia in March 1890, where she remained until the middle of September of the same year (Powell, 1894 a, p. xxx; 1894 b, pp. xxix, xxvi–xxvii). No further fieldwork was done, apparently, before the publication of her monograph, "The Sia," in the Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1894. Mrs. Stevenson spent most of the month of August 1904 in Sia. The Bureau of American Ethnology has unpublished manuscript material gathered by her at Sia, Taos, and other pueblos.

"The Sia" is an excellent work in many respects. Mrs. Stevenson was able to observe many things directly and was even allowed to photograph esoteric ceremonies and sacred paraphernalia. In addition to observation, she obtained considerable material from informants. But her monograph does not deal with "every phase of the life of this small but interesting tribe," as Holmes has asserted (Holmes, 1916, p. 553). The monograph is 149 pages long; 35 percent is devoted to myths and tales and 20 percent, to descriptions of rain ceremonies of four societies (the Snake, Giant, Knife or Flint, and Querranna societies). Thus, over half of the monograph is devoted to these two items alone. Then she has accounts of childbirth (7.5 percent), translations of songs (5.4 percent), descriptions of a curing ceremony by the Giant society (observed) and the initiation ceremony of the Snake society (from an informant) which together amount to about 6.8 percent. Thus, about 75 percent of the monograph is taken up with the above-mentioned topics, leaving but 25 percent for everything else.

Many sectors of Sia culture are ignored completely by Mrs. Stevenson or are mentioned only in passing. There is but the most meager discussion of clan organization, and no mention of moieties at all. Family and household organization are all but omitted. She collected kinship terms but they were not published in the monograph; they are in the files of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The whole subject of kinship is virtually ignored in "The Sia." Kachinas are spoken of briefly, but no masked dances are described. In fact, she does not describe any dances at all, or even list their names. Solar ceremonies are not mentioned. Material culture; arts and crafts; agriculture;

the herding of horses, cattle, and sheep; foods and cooking; ethics and etiquette; games and recreation; and many other things are omitted or merely alluded to. One of the most curious omissions is her failure to tell us how many kivas Sia had in the 1880's. Zuñi has 6 kivas; Acoma, 5 or 6; the Rio Grande Keres and the Tewa, 2; and Sia has, as we now know, alternated between 1 and 2 kivas. But how many there were in 1890 when Mrs. Stevenson was there for a final checkup before publication, she does not say.

Mrs. Stevenson uses native terms to some extent, but there are many important instances in which she does not. She does not, for example, give us the Keresan names for "war priests" and "war chiefs" (1894, p. 18), which would have helped us to determine which of the two has become extinct since her day. She lists a governor and a lieutenant governor without giving their native names; and we are at a loss to identify her "magistrate and his deputy" (ibid.)—unless they be the fiscales. She uses "theurgist" throughout, but never uses the native term tcaiyanyi (medicineman). She employs the important term honawai'aiti (which she spells honaaite), but did not grasp its proper meaning. And no informant has been able to identify her "Sussistinnako, a spider" (ibid., p. 26) from this spelling and pronunciation; the closest we could come to it was Tstιyostinako, Thought Woman (see White, 1942 a, p. 82).

When Mrs. Stevenson describes ceremonies that she had witnessed she is almost always lucid, and sometimes vivid and graphic. But in some instances she is quite incomprehensible. Fewkes, for example, as well as the present writer, found her account of the initiation ceremony of the Snake society, which she obtained from an informant (1894, pp. 86–89), so obscure as to make it impossible to know precisely what was taking place (Fewkes, 1895, p. 121).

I do not mention these omissions and shortcomings of Mrs. Stevenson's work in any sense of disparagement. "The Sia" is an excellent piece of work in many respects, and it is one of the first studies of a Southwestern pueblo ever made. The total amount of time spent at Sia, by both James and Matilda Stevenson, was not great, and no doubt many things were not observed, and they had little precedent to guide their interrogation of informants. Her description of the esoteric ceremonies which she witnessed are vivid and detailed; they have not been duplicated in studies of the Keres and they probably never will be repeated. All things considered, "The Sia" was a very creditable achievement.

It is not easy to define Mrs. Stevenson's attitude toward the Pueblo Indians. She unquestionably regarded their culture as inferior to that of the United States and Europe, as, of course, it was. But whether she "looked down" upon the Indians or not is a question.

She tells us that the philosophy of Sia is "fraught with absurdities and contradictions," but in the same breath observes that "it scintillates with poetic conceptions" (1894, p. 67). On the whole, her attitude appears to be both objective and sympathetic; compared with the prevailing view among her countrymen of that era—missionaries, army officers, Indian agents, traders, and just ordinary citizens—her outlook was the epitome of civilized sophistication.

Mrs. Stevenson's attitude toward science in general and toward ethnology in particular is nowhere made explicit. She was, of course, well acquainted with contemporary science as exemplified by such men as Maj. J. W. Powell and others. She probably merely took science for granted. Her job at Sia, as she saw it, apparently, was to describe as much of its culture as possible and make it intelligible to others. But she was guided by a principle which she never made explicit, but which was expressed in at least one curious incident that I will recount as follows:

During the course of my study at Sia, I went through the files of photographs of the Bureau of American Ethnology. I found a number of them that had been published in "The Sia." But my attention was arrested by one in particular; it was a photograph of the altar and paraphernalia of the Knife, or Flint, society (Stevenson, 1894, pl. xxv). It was familiar to me; I was certain I had seen it somewhere. Yet it contained something that I was sure I had not seen before, namely, two little porcelain Chinese lions. Taking the photograph with me, I went to the library and looked at a copy of "The Sia." To my astonishment I discovered that the photograph itself (pl. 1, present volume) had not been published but that a drawing made from the photograph had been used in "The Sia." The drawing was exactly like the photograph in every respect but one: the two little Chinese figures had been removed. Since Mrs. Stevenson had taken great pains to obtain photographs, and since many of them were used in her monograph—some inferior to the one in question—we can only assume that the omission of the Chinese figures was intentional and deliberate, and was done at Mrs. Stevenson's request. Why she did this is a question for which we have no answer. She may have felt that it was "not Indian," and was therefore out of place in that setting. But the little oriental figures had become Indianized; one of them is shown with a necklace of badger claws—as I subsequently had it identified by an informant—which is as un-Chinese as the figure is un-Indian. The fact that the Indian medicinemen adopted these little foreigners, naturalized them, and gave them a prominent place among their own fetishes is a significant bit of scientific evidence. Why Mrs. Stevenson suppressed this evidence is a mystery. And what else, if anything, she censored we may never know.

Incidentally, I made inquiry among Sia informants about these little Chinese "lions" and learned that they are still in use by the Shima society, which is intimately associated with the Flint (or Knife) society, and that they are highly regarded as supernatural beings.

The Stevensons—and after James's death, Matilda—lived in or adjacent to the pueblo and were in rather intimate association with the people. As I have already noted, Mrs. Stevenson says that they, or she, quickly won over the people and readily gained their confidence and cooperation. She reports that "the theurgists of the several cult societies . . . graciously received her [Mrs. Stevenson] in their ceremonials, revealing the secrets more precious to them than life itself"; and "the aged theurgists were eager to intrust to the writer the keeping of their songs . . ." (ibid., pp. 16, 123). Mrs Stevenson undoubtedly had some good friends in Sia. She was asked to be godmother to a baby at whose birth she assisted (ibid., pp. 138–139). The "vice-theurgist" of the Snake society was "one of . . . [her] staunchest friends": it was he who gave the ceremonial vase to James Stevenson against the wishes of his Society's members (ibid., pp. 90–91); and on one occasion he "rode many miles to solicit her [Mrs. Stevenson's] prayers for his ill infant" (ibid., p. 131).

But there were many people in Sia who were opposed to the investigations by James and Matilda Stevenson; the latter makes little mention of this, but there are occasional intimations of difficulty. Many Sias have heard accounts of Mrs. Stevenson's stay in their pueblo, and I have talked to two men who, as youths, saw or knew her. She appears definitely to be in ill repute in the pueblo today, which, of course, is not surprising: anyone who had "pried into their secrets" would be resented today. Some say that she intimidated some of the Sias; that she laid claim to supernatural power, which she demonstrated with her photographic flashlight powder; that she claimed to be a daughter of the supernatural Bocaiyanyi; and that she claimed—or even asserted—a right to attend sacred ceremonies because she was something of a tcaiyanyi (medicinewoman) herself.

Some of my Sia informants said that after Mrs. Stevenson left the pueblo, punitive action was taken against those who, either through fear or friendliness, had befriended her; there are even dark hints that some of them may have been put to death, but this is denied by others.

There was at least one copy of "The Sia" in the pueblo in 1957. There is reason to believe that it was sent to a Sia by a white friend within 5 or 10 years prior to that year. The owner keeps it locked up, though, and apparently has not shown it to other people.

I began my study of Sia in October 1928. By that time I had made two field trips to Acoma, one of almost 6 months, the other of 3. I had also spent considerable time at Laguna and some of her colonies, and had, of course, visited Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Cochiti. Much of my time, from September 1928 to the end of January 1929, was devoted to Sia. A portion of the summer of 1934, which was spent principally at Santa Ana, was given to the study of Sia. I spent a few days at Sia at Christmastime 1938, and observed some ceremonies. The summer of 1941 I devoted intensively to Sia, and made a brief visit to the pueblo in the summer of 1946. I spent much of the summer of 1952 with previous Sia informants, checking over old data and adding new items. Many visits were made to the pueblo, and numerous talks with previous informants were held, between October 1954 and January 1955, inclusive. And, finally, I had recourse to former informants during the summer of 1957 while preparing my monograph for publication.

I have described the technique of ethnologic fieldwork among the Keresan pueblos in some detail in my monograph, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico" (1942 a, pp. 9–11), but must make some mention of it here also. The Keresan pueblos, along with almost all other pueblos in New Mexico except Zuñi, have been determined for decades to prevent white people—ethnologists and journalists, especially—from learning anything about their life and culture that cannot be gleaned by a casual stroll through the pueblo on feast days. Every person is taught from childhood that the culture of his pueblo is sacred and information concerning it must not be divulged to outsiders. The principal reason for this is that the early Spanish settlers, particularly in the 17th century, tried to stamp out the indigenous religion and to Christianize the Indians. After the great Revolt of 1680 failed and the Spaniards reconquered the Pueblo tribes, the Indians went underground, to use a modern political term, and preserved their ancient religion beneath a cloak of secrecy, while pretending on the surface to have become Catholics. Also, the Pueblo Indians have found since the Mexican War and the American occupation that they fare better if Americans believe that they are Christians, that they elect their governor, that they have a democratic government, and so on. And, finally, it is highly probable that this strict devotion to secrecy promotes tribal solidarity and makes the Indian more tenacious in holding to the old ways.

Most of the data in this monograph were obtained from informants—using this term in a technical sense; some, however, were obtained from direct personal observation and from casual, i.e., nonprivate, conversations with Indians at Sia and other pueblos, with employees of the Indian Service, and with others. By *informant* here I mean an Indian of the Sia tribe who, knowing my purpose and objectives, gave me in private and in the strictest secrecy, ethnologic information. First, one makes acquaintances at Sia. Some of these acquaintances become friends. After a time the ethnographer decides, on the basis of many conversations in which there are guarded allusions to Indian culture, whether his Indian friend would be willing to assist him in his inquiries. The Indian, on his part, has been able to divine the interests of his white friend long before they are made explicit. Thus, before anything has become overt, each knows pretty well where the other stands. It is a matter of judgment and timing; a mistake could easily make any investigation impossible, for the misjudged Indian could warn others that an ethnographer was hovering about.

It should be mentioned in this connection that whereas the pueblo, as a community, takes a firm stand on the question of secrecy, there are occasional individuals who realize full well that the culture of their people is rapidly disappearing and who feel that a record of it should be made and preserved. It is the ethnographer's task to "scent out" such individuals among his acquaintances and friends; he ardently hopes that he will find one or two. Most of the Indians who have assisted in this study were persons of this sort.

Every Indian who has served me as an informant in this study has done so of his own free will and in full knowledge of who I was and what my objective was; I have never represented myself to an informant as anything other than an anthropologist. Naturally, it has not been possible to work with an informant in the pueblo itself; we have always been obliged to work elsewhere. I have always pledged myself to the informant to preserve inviolate his identity, and he would not have undertaken to help me had he not felt secure in this pledge. I have always paid informants for their time; the Sia are poor people, and time is valuable. No amount of money, however, would induce an Indian to serve as informant unless he were willing to do so for nonmonetary reasons. The sums paid to informants were never more than ordinary wages for other kinds of work.

The procedure of ethnographic investigation followed in this study has, then, been for the most part one in which ethnographer and informant go to some place away from the pueblo, where they can work in privacy. A subject is discussed at length and in detail, and the ethnographer records it in his notebook in the presence of the informant. So great is the necessity of secrecy that an individual is unwilling to have a member of his own family know that he is helping an anthropologist. There was one exception to this, however, in the present study: one informant brought his brother along to serve as interpreter for him. Discussions with informants were carried on in

English, supplemented at points by Spanish, and implemented by a technical Keresan vocabulary that I have acquired over the years. The verbal account is supplemented wherever desirable and possible by drawings made by the informant.

An ethnographic study made largely in this way has, of course, many shortcomings. In the first place, an enormous amount of time, infinite patience, tact, and perseverance are required—even to find someone who may eventually become an informant. After an ethnographer has discovered and developed a few informants, he can work with them only when they are available, and they are often too busy with their farming, tending sheep, building a house, or attending to pueblo matters, ceremonial or governmental, to be of assistance. The principal reason that, in my opinion, virtually nothing is known today about the pueblos of San Felipe and Sandia apart from my two little papers (White, 1932 b; 1947 a), and almost nothing is known about the pueblo of Tesuque—although it is only 8 miles from Santa Fe on a good highway—in contrast with the numerous studies of the anthropologist-ridden Hopi, Zuñi, and Navaho, is that no one has the patience and is willing to take the time to penetrate the wall of secrecy with which the eastern pueblos surround and protect themselves.

Another serious shortcoming is the difficulty of checking an informant's account against actual practice. In many instances the informant will tell you what one *should* do according to custom and tradition in a certain situation. The extent to which actual behavior conforms to the traditional, customary ideal can be checked to a certain degree by interrogation, and pertinent information comes indirectly from the discussion of different but closely related topics. But no amount of questioning and discussion can wholly take the place of direct observation. Also, this technique of fieldwork leaves gaps in the record; sometimes the informant fails to tell you something simply because it does not occur to him to mention it. Here again, there is no substitute for observation.

Another shortcoming has been that all my informants have been men; circumstances did not permit work with women away from the pueblo. However, I obtained considerable nonesoteric information from Sia women.

But it would be easy to exaggerate the shortcomings of fieldwork carried on by discussions with informants. Because I have not been able to witness many things directly, I have taken greater pains to get a complete and detailed picture from the informant. Whenever a diagram or a sketch would help, I have had the informant make one; all of these sketches have not been published in the present monograph, by any means. And great emphasis has been placed upon *meanings* of rituals, paraphernalia, and concepts which no amount of observation alone would disclose. I witnessed a great amount and variety of sacred ritual and paraphernalia among the Hopi pueblos in 1932, including masked dances, rituals in the kivas, and items of paraphernalia of various kinds. I have observed the Shalako ceremonies in Zuñi. And I have seen many dances and ceremonies, including a maskless kachina dance, among Keresan pueblos. All these observations have helped me to visualize and to comprehend informants' descriptions of unseen portions of Keresan culture. As a consequence, I believe that my accounts of esoteric ceremonies as obtained from informants, at Santa Ana and at Sia, will bear comparison with Mrs. Stevenson's descriptions of ceremonies witnessed at Sia, or with descriptions provided by eye-witness observers of other cultures.

I have checked one informant's account with that of another, or others, at many points. And during the 1950's I went back to my principal informant of 1941 to recheck his work of that year. In most instances, I believe, there has been a close correspondence between the accounts of different informants and between accounts from the same informant at different time periods. But there are occasional discrepancies. The occurrence of discrepancies does not necessarily mean, however, that my informants were either in error or lying. Discrepancies may arise from a number of sources: (1) There may be a difference in judgment among informants as to what common practice is or should be. (2) There may actually be differences of practices, and one informant might cite one and another a different practice. (3) Custom may well have changed at some points within the 29 years during which the study was carried on. (4) Some informants are more specific than others—the Flint and Shima societies are very closely associated; one informant might speak of either as Flint whereas another would distinguish Shima from Flint. (5) Since there are a number of secret societies in Sia, one informant may know something that is unknown to another. And (6) there may be other legitimate and valid sources of variation. I feel sure that no informant has deliberately told me something that was not true; it would be difficult for him to fabricate a description of a ritual even were he so inclined. I think it likely, however, that informants have, on occasion, denied the existence of certain practices, such as, for example, forms of punishment or even of execution for witchcraft; one of my best informants was very loath to discuss witchcraft. Also, on a few occasions an informant has frankly told me that he would not give me information on a certain point. Finally, it is somewhat ironic to note that the more informants one has the greater is the likelihood of variation and discrepancy.

The cultures of Sia, Santa Ana, and Santo Domingo are much alike at many points. And, since I have already published accounts of Santa Ana and Santo Domingo (not to mention my brief paper on San Felipe), I have not described Sia ceremonies in full where they closely resemble their counterparts in Santo Domingo or Santa Ana. Take the gallo, or rooster pull, for example. It is found at Sia, Santo Domingo, and Santa Ana, and the ceremonies are very much alike in these pueblos. Since I have described it in some detail in "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico" (1942 a, pp. 263–267) and in "The Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico" (1935, pp. 155–158), I have not treated it at length in the present study; I have merely described a feature which I did not see at other villages.

In my study of Sia I have tried to dig deeper into its culture, especially into its philosophy, than I have at other pueblos. I acquired a great deal of information about Keresan culture in earlier studies, so in later years, in my work at Sia, I tried to penetrate deeper into the concepts, the meanings, which characterize and permeate the sociocultural system instead of merely describing the same or similar ceremonies once more. I was fortunate in having one or two informants who were congenial with this purpose. Honawai'aiti and "wet" and "dry" ceremonies are examples of such concepts. I had never encountered honawai'aiti, for example, at any other Keresan pueblo, although I know now that it is present and significant at Santa Ana. This fact, in addition to general considerations, makes me feel sure that much data escaped me at Santa Ana and Santo Domingo: I did not dig deeply enough. And, it goes without saying, I have not pumped the well dry at Sia by any means.

My primary purpose in all my studies of the Keresan pueblos has been to learn as much as possible about their aboriginal culture. It is this that has been unique, and it is this that is disappearing from the face of the earth. Special problems which have been popular among many field workers, such as "the relationship between economic organization and kinship structure," or "the effect of child training upon pueblo government and social control," could not be undertaken before the basic, underlying culture was known. And conventional studies of "culture change" can be made anywhere at any time. But an account of the aboriginal culture divorced from the influences that Euro-American culture has exerted upon it would be foolishly emasculated. I have, therefore, undertaken to present the culture of Sia in its actual and proper historical setting, i.e., as a culture in a process of change.

In the pages that follow, phrases or sentences will occasionally be found in quotation marks. Unless otherwise indicated, these are verbatim statements by informants; sometimes there is definitely a value in presenting them in their own words.

# GLOSSARY

It is important to use native terms in discussing the culture of an Indian pueblo. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Mrs. Stevenson's failure to do this has made it impossible for us to identify the officers of Sia in her day. But the use of many native terms places a heavy burden upon the reader, and it would be wasteful of labor and space to define a term each time it is used. I have therefore followed here the practice, begun in "The Pueblo of Santo Domingo" and continued in "The Pueblo of Santa Ana," of including a glossary of terms. This will serve a threefold purpose. First, it will make it easy for the reader to ascertain the meanings of native terms used in the text. Second, it will provide phonetic spelling of terms once and for all, thus saving much expense in typesetting. Most readers will not care how the Indians pronounce the native terms used; whether an *i* is to be pronounced as in "fine" or as in "fit" or whether there is a glottal stop at this point or that will be matters of complete indifference to most readers, and there is no sense in having the typesetter struggle with diacritical marks, Greek letters, and symbols invented for the occasion every time a native term appears. And third, it will direct attention to some interesting and significant concepts in Sia and Keresan culture. One interesting feature of Keresan vocabulary is the use of ceremonial terms, as distinguished from those of ordinary discourse. For example, the ordinary word for food is opɛ·wi, but in ceremonial contexts one would say ʙɛ́wits$^{a}$. Earlier ethnographers used to call these ceremonial terms "archaic." They may indeed be archaic—although this has not been demonstrated—but their significance lies in the fact that they are used only in ceremonial contexts (White, 1944 b).

Another feature of ceremonial usage is the substitution of some words for others. When skinning and cutting up a bear, for example, one refers to the hide as díckama (cornhusk); to the meat as kínati (fresh ear of corn); to feces as cebota (corn smut), etc.; and the bear himself is addressed as Baʙa (grandfather) (see p.180). The crow (*Corvus brachyrhyncos*) is called stcira in ordinary discourse, but in ceremonial contexts it is called Mákaiyɛ (no English equivalent) hátctsɛ (man).

I have not included all native terms used in the text by any means; this, too, would be wasteful, for many of them occur only once or twice. But I have tried to include those used most frequently.

I am not a trained linguist and my transcription of native terms leaves much to be desired. I have followed the "Rules for the Simpler System" in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," (Amer. Anthrop. Assoc. Comm., vol. 66, No. 6, pp. 2–5) to the best of my ability. I have also leaned on Boas' "Keresan Texts" (1925, 1928) to some extent. But not all Indians pronounce the same words alike, and even with a given informant sometimes I hear a word pronounced one way, sometimes another (Boas did, also; see below). Sounds and symbols in my Glossary are as follows:

a as in father
e as in fate
i as in pique
o as in note
u as in rule
c=sh as in ship

α as in but
ϵ as in met
ι as in pin
ï see below
υ as in put
tc=ch as in chip

B is intermediate b–p; D is intermediate d–t; G intermediate g–k.

The first syllable of many Keresan words is considerably elongated. This is indicated by an elevated period: o·kast. Sometimes this elongated syllable is accented as well: hʻá·mi. In many words the last syllable, or even more than one syllable, is unvoiced; this is indicated by elevated and diminutive letters: k'átic$^{tya}$ (the name of San Felipe pueblo). The vowel ï is rather common in Keres. It is described by Boas (1925, p. xii) as follows: "It is produced without rounding of lips, rather with slight retraction, raising the mid-tongue to the palate with slight retraction and dropping the back of the tongue. Its vocalic character is weak and to the casual hearer it sounds similar to a mid-palatal *r* or *γ*. When accented it is liable to be heard as əγə, as in mït$^{y}$ʻ *boy*, which is liable to be heard as məγə́t$^{y}$ʻ". Many words end in -nyi, like Spanish *cañon*.

It has been difficult for me to distinguish between a and *α* in many instances. It was difficult, also, to distinguish shadings of *o* and *u*, in many words. "Among the vowels," according to Boas (ibid.), "*o* is rather variable. When long, it is generally heard as *o*$^{u}$, when of middle length as *o*. Thus I hear hótcʻan$^{y}$i *chief*, although in very careful pronunciation the sound appears as a slightly lip-rounded *u*." According to my ear, some people use an *s* sound in some words while others use a *c*(sh): e.g., kastotcoma, kactotcoma. One sound in Keres might be termed an intermediate r–l; I have rendered this as L, as in tciLika, sparrow hawk. In speaking English, many Keres will say Therma (Thelma), Porfilio (Porfirio), or Kocairi (Kocaili).

Glottal stops are indicated by ' as in ko'ok'$^{o}$. Strongly aspirated sounds are indicated by ʻ as in hʻá·mi.

*English as spoken by Keresan Indians.*—A few observations upon the way Indians of the Keresan Pueblos speak English may be appropriate and instructive here. First of all, I might observe that there is very considerable uniformity of pronunciation among all the villages of the Rio Grande Valley, Tewa and Tanoan as well as Keres; there is a sort of pan-Indian dialect of English. This is due, to some extent, no doubt, to the mingling of tribes in the big boarding schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and also to interpueblo conversations. It would be difficult to tell, by ear alone, whether an Indian was from a Tewa or a Keres pueblo by the way he speaks English. And, it has seemed to me, this pan-Indian English dialect is more pronounced among women than among men. This dialect is characterized by intonation as well as pronunciation. *L's* are often interchanged with *R's*, as I have already noted. "Heese (rhymes with geese) not home" for "He is not home" is practically universal. The past tense is often past tense throughout: "What did he said?" or "Where did he went?" And, with many, all plurals end in *s*: cattles, potteries, and mens. *Kids* tends to become *kits; ride, rite;* and *dodge, dotch.* "Woman" is seldom, if ever, used; all adult female Indians, at least, are "ladies." Many of my informants have been quite pronunciation-conscious, with regard to both Keresan words and English words. One of my informants argued with me about the pronunciation of *vomit*, for example, insisting that he had always heard it pronounced *vomup.* Most Keres seem to eschew slang expressions even though they hear them. Very few resort to profanity except when intoxicated, and then they use it with little or no sense of American usage. There is no profanity in the Keresan language. I have never heard a Keresan Indian utter any of the words that are commonly considered obscene in polite American society. How much my personality may have affected their conversations with me is a question I cannot answer.

All Keresan informants find it virtually impossible to help the investigator with the etymology of words. I was never able to determine, for example, whether the words ho·tcanyi (chief) and ho·tcanitsa (the official residence of the cacique) are genetically related; or whether nawai (the head of a society) and ho·nawaiaiti (the name of an order in a curing society) are related.

Also, it is exceedingly difficult for even the best of informants to tell the investigator what certain words mean. I made great effort to discover the meaning of *notsinyico,* for example, but never felt that I fully comprehended it (White, 1942 a, p. 19). My efforts fully to understand *honawaiaiti* likewise fell short of success.

It is impossible, apparently, for the Keresan language to coin new words for new things. Thus, when talking in the Keresan language about an automobile, for example, an Indian is obliged to use such English words as tire, sparkplug, battery, etc. The Keresan language is thus in marked contrast with some other languages, such as Navaho, with regard both to etymology and neologisms.

a·hina—a dance to celebrate the taking of a scalp.

áctitco'mι.—the "pole" carried in the dance for the Blessed Virgin on August 15 (see p. 312).

átcιn$^{yi}$—wooden slat altar of a curing society.

atsɛ'ɛᴅanyi—ceremony performed for a scalp taker to free him from supernatural danger in which he has been placed by taking the scalp.

ʙɛwits$^{a}$—ceremonial word for food; opɛwi is the ordinary word.

caiye·ik'$^{a}$ (also heard caiyaik'$^{a}$)—the Hunters society.

ciʙo·k'$^{o}$—a generic term for any plant that produces cottonlike fibers, e.g., milkweed; unspun cotton.

cócgaina—a guard, or doorkeeper; he keeps unauthorized people from entering the house of a secret society on certain occasions.

crʋtsi—raw, uncooked; plant foods customarily eaten raw are called crʋtsi opɛwι (food); it sometimes means 'uninitiated' (White, 1935, p. 9).

Diamïnyι—the head of the political and religious organization of the pueblo; village chief; often called cacique (Sp.); spelled tiamunyi in this work.

ᴅyaiyatcra'nyι—ceremonial word for mountain; ko·t is the ordinary word.

ɢacpʋticɛ—a word of uncertain meaning; has to do with the summer retreats for rain and crops.

ɢaodyac—applied to a person who is taking emetics, fasting, and observing continence before a ceremony; also to a place that is tabooed.

ɢáotcanyi—plural, ɢówatcanyi; war chief's helpers.

ɢawai'aiti—the name of a class of edibles such as grain, seeds, corn, beans, piñon nuts, berries, etc.

ɢotiyamonicɛ—edible wild plants.

ɢówatcanyi—see ɢáotcanyi.

ɢoyaíti—game animals.

h'á'atsi—literally, earth; a sand or meal painting.

h'a·ᴅawɛ—pollen of any kind.

ʜ'a·ᴅi—parched corn, then ground, then parched brown.

ʜaᴅi—obsidian.

h'a·tcamïnyi—prayersticks.

h'áwirana—grain: corn, wheat.

hícami—two eagle wing feathers used by medicinemen in treating illness and in exorcizing evil spirits.

hi·ctci—generic name for plants that have flowers that produce seeds, such as sunflowers; nonedible.

ho·nawai'aiti—a difficult and abstruse concept; the highest order in a medicine society; see p. 138.

ho·tcanyi—chief.

hótcanitsa—the official residence of the tiamunyi or cacique; see p. 49.

íariko—corn-ear fetish representing ɪatiku, the mother of the Indians.

i·kanyi—generic term for squash, pumpkin, melons, cucumbers—but not gourds—"that grow on long vines."

i'nawι—any kind of flour: corn, wheat, rice.

íniyatsa—human beings in their spiritual capacity.

itsa·tyunyι—beads, at least as they are used ceremonially; this may be a ceremonial term.

ka'áotiyϵ—"a person coming out into the open, or winning honors or advantages."

kacaíᴅimϵ—summer solar ceremony; also called sīnα (middle) ᴅyitʸ' cʋkotsϵ.

kachina—see k'átsinα.

kahϵra—the drummer who beats a European type drum with two sticks in ceremonies of Spanish-Catholic derivation.

k'ánaᴅyaíya—"witch"; a person who uses supernatural power to injure others.

káotsιnyι—"a person doing miracle things."

káowiyϵ—"luck"; "when one finds, or obtains, something of value by chance."

k'átsinα—anthropomorphic spirits who bring rain; impersonated in masked dances; also called ciwana (shiwana) by the Keres and kachinas generally in ethnographic literature.

kiva—see tcikya.

kocaírι (or kocaílι)—name of a society; commonly spelled koshare.

ko'óko— a hideous woman corpse; see p. 306.

k'oʙictaiya—"sacred, holy"; spirits; masked personages at Acoma.

k'otcιnιnak'o—Yellow Woman of the North (see "Cosmology").

ko·t'—ordinary word for mountain; ᴅyaiyatcra'nyi is the ceremonial word.

ma·ca'inyi—the skins of the forelegs of a bear, worn by medicinemen in curing rituals and during initiations.

maiyányi—generic term for spirits.

mátsinyi—wafer bread; equivalent of Hopi *piki*.

náowϵtsa'nyi—ritual emesis as a prelude to participation in a ceremony.

notrówaᴅyac—sexual continence before a ceremony.

nowatánitcᵃ—work, either ceremonial or technological.

o·kastᵃ—bandoleer made of leather cords worn by scalp takers; commonly called matalotes.

ópaiyak'ányi—poker; stick used to poke or stir a fire; used to represent the deceased in mortuary ritual.

owaᴅyámɩ—the pueblo council.

pɛtana—coarsely ground cornmeal, used in ceremonies when it is called yaya (mother) ɢ'aco (her flesh)—"like the wafer that is Christ's body."

shiwana—see k'átsinɑ.

si·cti—a common person; not a medicineman, priest, or officer.

stcamu·nɑ—a natural mixture of magnetite ($Fe_3O_4$) and hematite ($Fe_2O_3$); see White, 1942 a, pp. 19–20, for discussion and comparative data.

tcaiya·nyi—medicineman; a member of a society having iarikos.

tcápiyo—the masked personage who accompanies equestrian impersonation of saints; may be seen by White people.

tcíkya—one of the two round, aboveground ceremonial houses of the pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley; often called kiva (a Hopi term); sometimes called estufa (oven), the term used by the early Spaniards.

tcraik'atsi—assistant to the ᴅiamunyi, or cacique.

tíamunyi—see ᴅiamïnyɩ.

ti·mi—a small cotton felt blanket used in ceremonies; see p. 312 and also White, 1935, n. 4, p. 178.

tsapac$^{r}$omɑ—a sacred spot, or shrine; each has a name, frequently ending in ko·tʻ, mountain.

tsa·ts—breath, soul.

tsípanyi—a difficult term; refers to "cold, dry" (winter) ceremonies; also "full-fledged curing"; "any dance where participants wear eagle feathers dyed red and wear red ocher on the face." The Buffalo dance is "one-half tsipanyi; one-half Gacpʋti." The tcakwena dance is tsipanyi, for snow.

tsíyak'atsɛ—domestic animals.

waʙanyi—feather bunch, often tied to prayersticks.

wa·ʙóctc$^{a}$—fine white bird down used in ceremonial costumes.

waícti—a large pottery bowl.

waíctiranyi—a medicine bowl.

wa·stitc—a bird, or the young of an animal. I have heard parents speak of their own children as wa·stitc.

wícʙi—a ceremonial object something like an iariko and also like a prayerstick; see p. 311.

wínock'$^{a}$—heart; witches sometimes "steal" them.

wítcatsɛ—quartz crystal; see p. 318.

wíya'áitʻ—wealth, long life; "anything that one prays for."

yaʙa·cɩnyɩ—a hʻá'atsɩ (sand or meal painting) upon which iarikos (corn-ear fetishes) have been placed.

ya·k'atca—red ocher.

yuʙinɑ—pod plants: beans, peas.

# HISTORY OF SIA

The ethnographer is especially fortunate with respect to the pueblos of New Mexico in that he has a long historic record of them even though it be meager or even wholly lacking in spots. In many other instances the anthropologist must begin his study of a people without any specific knowledge of its past.

The Sia have only their origin and migration myth to account for their present location. Like all other Keresan pueblos, Sia's mythology states that they emerged from the lower world at a place "in the North," and that they migrated southward until they arrived at their present location, where they have lived ever since. They have no legends, as far as I could discover, of having lived at some other location, although one informant said that one of the nearby pueblo ruins is called Tsiya. Nor have they any legendary account, as distinguished from the origin-migration myth, of the initial occupation of their present site.

There has been much speculation about the prehistory of the Keres. Mera (1935, pp. 35–39) has suggested, principally upon the basis of distribution of pottery types, that the Keres once lived in the Mesa Verde region. A recent reconsideration of theories of pueblo prehistory states that "more recent evidence . . . has tended to confirm Mera's cultural sequence" (Wendorf and Reed, 1955, p. 159). There is still insufficient evidence, however, say Wendorf and Reed (ibid.), to test Mera's Keres-Mesa Verde correlation: "We lack sufficient data on the archaeology of the Keres area to permit developing fully this hypothesis . . . but it should be noted that the distribution of the Mesa Verde-like pottery includes the present Keres area." They believe that reasonable evidence indicates that the Keres-speaking peoples lived "in the upper San Juan region," around the four corners, in the 13th century and earlier, and that "the broad correlation of Keresan language with San Juan Anasazi culture . . . should receive serious reconsideration" (ibid., pp. 163, 165).

There are, according to Mera (1940, p. 26–a), seven sites of former villages located within some 6 miles of Sia (fig. 1). No. 924 is a small ruin which yielded sherds of Mera's group A, 13th and 14th centuries, plus a few of group E, 16th century, which Mera believed came from "a small seasonally occupied house, the remains of which appear to be superimposed on the older structure" (Mera, 1940, p. 26). It is this site which one informant said is called Tsíya, although he did not

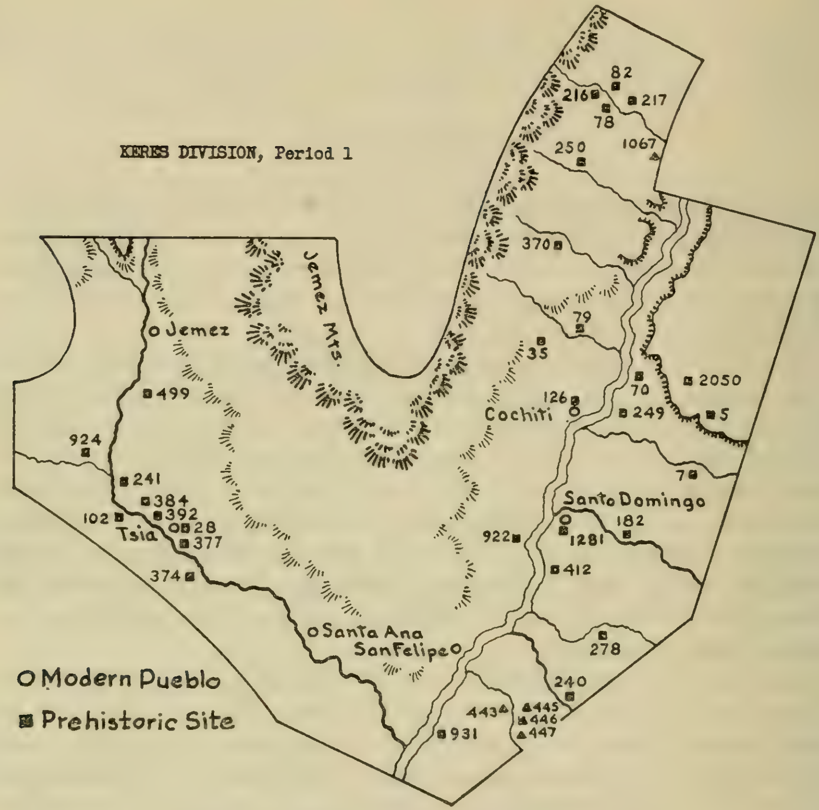
KERES DIVISION, Period 1
Jemez
Jemez Mts.
499
924
241
384
392
102
Tsia
28
377
374
Santa Ana
San Felipe
Cochiti
126
35
79
370
250
216
82
78
217
1067
70
2050
249
5
7
Santo Domingo
182
1281
922
412
278
240
443
445
446
447
931
Modern Pueblo
Prehistoric Site

FIGURE 1.—Modern pueblos and prehistoric sites.

claim that the Sia had lived there before they moved to their present site.

Site 241 yielded sherds of every group from A to F, inclusive, i.e., from the 13th to the 17th century. I did not obtain the Sia name of this ruin.

Site 384 is a large ruin about 2.5 miles northwest of Sia. It was occupied from the 13th to the 17th century. The Sia name for this site is iˑsa (dung), so named because of a great quantity of manure at this place.

Site 392 was abandoned prior to A.D. 1400, according to Mera's reckoning. The Sia name for this is Kóasaiya, which means "old ruins" (see also, Bandelier, 1892, p. 196).

I have visited sites 384 and 392. No. 384 was a fairly large pueblo, apparently. On the site is a stone about 4 feet long whose natural shape suggests a horse. It had been smeared with red ocher, and other evidence made it quite clear that it is a sacred object visited ritually at the present time (1957).

Site 377 is a "group of mounds that mark the site of a small pueblo. Two occupations are indicated, one during the life of Group A (13th and 14th centuries) and another during F" (late 17th and 18th centuries, see Mera, 1940, p. 25). The Sias call this site opacuti ("round ball cactus") tsinaoticɛ ("point").

Site 374 was occupied from the 13th to the 16th century. Its Sia name is ckac ka·m, "fish home."

Site 102 is described by Mera (1940, p. 24) as "a sherd area which is said by the Indians of Tsia Pueblo to be all that is left of a ruin which has been undermined and washed away. . . [within] the last century." Sherds of group A (13th and 14th centuries) and D (A.D. 1490–1515) were identified. Bandelier (1892, p. 196) and Mera (1940, p. 27) call this site Kakan-atza-tia; I did not confirm this name.

It may well be that these sites are the ruins of the "five pueblos of the Punames" mentioned by Espejo, 1583, of which Sia was the principal village (Bolton, 1916, pp. 181–182). Mera (1940, p. 25) believed that site 374 "is probably one of the several Tsia settlements mentioned by Spanish historians," but he does not speculate about any others. It would appear from his estimates of occupancy, however, that only three sites, namely, Nos. 241, 384, and 374, were inhabited in the latter half of the 16th century. But these three, plus the dubious site 102, together with the present Sia, would have made five pueblos, the number given by Espejo. Site 499 is "a good-sized ruin" with sherds "of all groups from A to E" (Mera, 1940, p. 26), i.e., 13th to late 16th century, but this pueblo probably was in the "province of the Xemes" in Espejo's time.

Is the modern pueblo of Sia located upon the site that it occupied when the Spaniards first visited it in the 16th century? Bandelier (1892, p. 196) doubted that it is, presumably because of the presence of ruins near Sia and possibly because of discussions with some of the Sias. I believe, however, that it is very probable that the present pueblo of Sia occupies the site that it did in Coronado's day. In the first place, we know of no specific evidence to the contrary. Secondly, "the present pueblo of Tsia has been built partially over the remains of a more ancient structure. This is one of the few inhabited villages," says Mera (1940, pp. 24, 28), "where a collection from old middens was countenanced. Sherds illustrating all glaze-paint groups (A–F) [13th to end of 18th century] were secured." The pueblo was partially destroyed by Cruzate in 1688, but it was reoccupied in 1692 or 1693 after De Vargas had effected a reconciliation with the Sia, as we shall see shortly. There is no evidence that more than one Catholic mission was ever built at Sia; the mission was only damaged in 1688, and De Vargas ordered it repaired and provided the Sia with tools for this purpose. It seems quite likely, therefore, that the Sia now live where their forefathers were living in 1540.

It is possible that the pueblo country might have been visited by Indians from Mexico, Aztecs in particular, before the coming of the white man. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmerón reported in his Relación that a Spanish soldier had told him he had seen pictures of Aztecs, which he recognized by their dress, in a kiva at Acoma. The Aztecs had come from the west and had spent a few days at Acoma. Because the Acoma had never seen people like them, they painted their likenesses on kiva walls. When the strangers left they went toward Sia. All this took place, the Spanish captain was told, a few years prior to his visit. "With this information," said Zárate-Salmerón (1900, p.182), "I made great research; and asking the chief-captain of the pueblo of Cia . . . and other elders, if they had information of those peoples . . . he said yes; that he very well remembered having seen them, and that some of them had been entertained in his house. That this was a few years before the Spaniards made a settlement in New Mexico; . . ." The strangers went on to Jemez, also, where they spent a few days.

The Spaniards first learned of New Mexico, however, from Cabeza de Vaca in 1536. In 1539, Fray Marcos de Niza was sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to the pueblo country with a party of Mexican Indians and a Moorish servant, Estevan. They reached Zuñi where Estevan was killed. Fray Marcos merely surveyed the Pueblo of Zuñi from a distant hill; he did not enter the town. He returned with stories of a city greater than Mexico itself. Mendoza, the viceroy, appointed Francisco Vásquez de Coronado to invade this country and to take possession of it for the Spanish crown.

The documentary history of Sia begins with the Coronado expedition of 1540–42. We learn rather little about Sia from its chronicles, however. Castañeda records that "at the end of the siege [of Tiguex], . . . the general sent a captain to Chia, a fine pueblo with a large population, which had sent messages offering submission. . . . They found the pueblo quiet and left in its care four bronze cannon which were in bad condition" (Hammond and Rey, eds., 1940, p. 233). In 1581 Father Augustín Rodríguez and Capt. Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado visited some pueblos in the Jemez River valley including, probably, Sia, although they do not identify it by name (Hammond and Rey, 1927; Mecham, 1926, p. 285).

In 1583 Antonio de Espejo and his party visited the "province called Los Punames,[2] consisting of five pueblos, the chief pueblo being called Sia. It is a very large pueblo, and I and my companions went through it; it had eight plazas, and better houses than those previously mentioned, most of them being whitewashed and painted with colors and pictures after the Mexican custom" (Bolton, 1916, pp. 181–182). Luxán, a chronicler of the Espejo expedition, describes Ziaquebos as

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[2] "Punames" resembles the Keresan word for west: Bu·nami. Hodge (1910, pt. 2, p. 327) derives Punames from Keresan Pu-na-ma, 'people of the west,' referring to the western division of the Rio Grande branch of the Keresan stock.

> an important city of more than a thousand houses inhabited by more than four thousand men over fifteen years of age, and women and children in addition. . . . It belonged to the province of the Punamees. The houses are of three and four stories, extremely high and well arranged. The people are clean. There were three caciques in this city who governed it. . . . In this city and province we raised the flag in the name of his majesty and took possession of the said city and province. A cross was erected and its meaning explained to the natives. [Hammond and Rey, eds., 1929, pp. 83–85.]

The Indians received the Espejo party with hospitality:

> They gave us many turkeys, such a large quantity of tortillas that they had to return them to the pueblo, and also much maize and other vegetables. [Ibid, p. 85.]

Luxán described the Indians' dress as follows:

> The dress of the men consists of some blankets, a small cloth for covering their privy parts, and other cloaks, shawls, and leather shoes in the shape of boots. The women wear a blanket over their shoulders tied with a sash at the waist, their hair cut in front, and the rest plaited so that it forms two braids, and above a blanket of turkey feathers. It is an ugly dress indeed. [Ibid., p. 85.]

The first attempt at colonization of New Mexico was made by Don Juan de Oñate in 1598. In July of that year Oñate summoned the chiefs of nearby pueblos to a meeting in Santo Domingo where he explained his purpose and mission to them. No doubt, a representative from Sia was present. It is recorded that the chiefs willingly pledged their allegiance to the Spanish crown and to the Roman Catholic Church. After this meeting Oñate made a tour of various pueblos, visiting Sia on August 2, 1598, but we have no record of his observations or actions at this place (Hammond, 1927, p. 101).

The last six decades of the 16th century was an era of exploration in New Mexico; the first three-quarters of the 17th century was a period of colonization, of bringing the Pueblo Indians under the control of Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The last quarter of the 17th century was a time of bloody revolt by the Indians, followed by their final subjugation.

Shortly after Oñate established his colony at San Gabriel, he dispatched Franciscan missionaries to the surrounding pueblos. Andrés Corchado was assigned to Sia; he had Acoma, Zuñi, and Hopi also under his jurisdiction (Hewett and Fisher, 1943, p. 69). Sia's first saint's name, bestowed upon it by Oñate, was "Sint Pedro y Sant

Pablo," but on the establishment of the mission there early in the 17th century it became known as Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Sia, a designation that has persisted to the present day (Hodge, 1933, p. 226). "The convent of Sia [was] first mentioned in July, 1613; [it] was probably founded by Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, who came with Peinado in 1610. He apparently served at Sia until 1617. . . . Santa Ana is recorded as a visita of Sia as early as 1614" (Scholes and Bloom, 1944, p. 334). Thus, the mission and convent at Sia were among the earliest to be established in New Mexico.

The Pueblo Indians suffered much at the hands of the Spaniards during the decades following the conquest. The clergy tried to stamp out the native religion and to force Catholicism upon the Indians. Kivas were burned, and masks and other sacred paraphernalia were destroyed. Priests and medicinemen were charged with witchcraft and whipped or executed. The natives were forced to attend church services and to support the clergy. The civil officials, too, laid their yoke upon the Indians. They established offices within the Pueblos, to be filled by natives, in order to administer them more effectively. Indians were tried in Spanish courts; punishments were severe: whipping, hanging, or being sold into slavery. And they were exploited economically. Life for the Indians under the Spanish yoke was hard and eventually became unendurable.[3]

There were several attempts at armed rebellion between 1645 and 1675, but all of them failed. In 1675 a missionary, believing that some of the Spanish colonists had been bewitched, brought charges of witchcraft against a number of the Indians: 47 were convicted, of whom 43 were whipped and enslaved; 4 were hanged as a warning to others. One of those executed was from nearby Jemez (Prince, 1883, p. 173).

On August 10, 1680, a carefully planned and organized revolt broke out. All Spaniards were either killed or driven out of the country save for a few women who were kept as captives. The Indians wreaked special vengeance upon the clergy; many were massacred and churches were despoiled. "In fine," says Escalante (1900, p. 309), "there remained in all the kingdon no vestige of the Christian religion; all was profaned and destroyed."

In 1681 Governor Otermín attempted to reconquer the Pueblo country. He burned and sacked a number of pueblos which he found deserted. The Sia had fled to the sierra of Los Jemez where Indians from Santa Ana, Sandia, and other pueblos had gone for safety. The governor of Santa Ana went to the camp of the Spaniards to tell them that the Sia and the Santa Ana wished to return to their homes and were willing to pledge allegiance to Spanish rule (Hackett, 1916, pp. 76, 124–125). Otermín was unsuccessful, however, and he soon returned to El Paso del Norte. For a few years the pueblos remained undisturbed.

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[3] For accounts of the treatment of the Pueblo Indians by their Spanish conquerors, both civil and ecclesiastical, see: Scholes, 1936–37, and 1937, especially pp. 144—145, 147–148, 380, 395, 437–438; Prince, 1883, especially pp. 169–173; Bancroft, 1889, pp. 174–175; Twitchell, 1912, vol. 1, pp. 351–355, and 1914, vol. 2, pp. 51–68; Escalante's "Letter," 1900, p. 310.

In the summer of 1687 Pedro Reneros de Posada, then Governor at El Paso, made an attempt at reconquest. He captured the pueblo of Santa Ana, burned many houses, and killed a number of Indians. He then pushed on to Sia, but succeeded only in capturing some horses and sheep. In the following year, however, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, who succeeded Posada as governor, invaded the Jemez valley. Virtually all accounts state that he "destroyed" the pueblo of Sia and killed a large portion of its inhabitants in a blazing and bloody encounter. Four medicinemen were captured and shot in the plaza, and 70 Sias were taken as captives to El Paso, where they were compelled to serve for 10 years "as punishment for their apostasy" (Espinosa, 1940, pp. 17–18, and 1942, p. 32, n. 24; Escalante, 1900, p. 312).

A remarkable figure emerged from the conquest of Sia: Bartolomé de Ojeda. He was a Sia Indian although he may have had a strain of Spanish blood. He fought the Spaniards with great bravery, but after being severely wounded and fearing that he was going to die, he gave himself up to the Spaniards and asked to have a priest hear his confession. He was taken to El Paso by Cruzate. He later returned and became governor of Sia (Espinosa, 1942, p. 20, n. 23).

The reconquest of the pueblos was eventually effected by Gen. Don Diego de Vargas. In the fall of 1692 his campaign brought him to the Pueblo of Sia, which he found deserted. One of his soldiers found a church bell which the Indians had buried. De Vargas ordered it reburied. After spending the night at ruined Sia, Vargas proceeded to the Cerro Colorado near Jemez, where the Sia and Indians from other pueblos had sought refuge; the Sia had built there a pueblo of their own. As Vargas approached, the Sia descended to meet him. They greeted him "with great reverence, and they all had crosses in their hands" (Espinosa, 1940, p. 176). Then they all entered the pueblo of the Sia, where Vargas assembled them in the plaza and addressed them "through the Indian Bartolo, who served as interpreter." One hundred twenty-three Indians were baptized. At the request of the chief of the Sia, Antonio Malacate, Vargas formally installed a new chief, Cristobal, since Malacate was too old and too ill to perform his duties. Vargas enjoined the new chief to perform his duties well and to be loyal and obedient to the Spanish Crown and Church. This the chief promised to do (ibid., pp. 177–178).

Vargas then ordered the Sia to reoccupy their former pueblo, "since the walls are strong and in good condition, and also the nave and main altar of the church are in good condition only lacking the wooden parts, which I ordered them to cut . . .." They replied that they had no tools, whereupon Vargas promised to give them some. He asked them to repair the church and the convent only, "that he was not asking them to build him a house." They "agreed to do so, and with the din of their war dances they seemed to be very happy and contented" (Espinosa, 1940, p. 177).

In 1693 Vargas was in Mexico organizing an expedition to colonize the Pueblo country. He then ascended the Rio Grande to Sante Fe, which he recaptured after bitter fighting. Of the 20-odd pueblos of the region "only four were the allies of the Spaniards: namely, Pecos, and the Keres of Santa Ana, Sia, and San Felipe . . .. The natives of the other pueblos had moved to the mountains and barricaded themselves. Those of Santo Domingo and Jemez were on the mesas near their respective pueblos, the other Keres on the mesa of La Cieneguilla de Cochiti . . ." (Espinosa, 1942, p. 163). By January 1694, the Sia, Santa Ana, and the San Felipe were "clamoring to Vargas for assistance against the Jemez, the Queres of Santo Domingo," and other pueblos (Bandelier, 1892, p. 173). During the spring and summer of that year the Sia and Santa Ana fought with the Spaniards against the Indians of Jemez and other tribes (Bandelier, 1892, pp. 173 ff.; Espinosa, 1942, pp. 178–80, 185, 188).

On June 4, 1696, a widespread revolt of the eastern pueblos broke out: the Taos, Picuris, Jemez, the Tewa, Tano, and the Keres of Santo Domingo and Cochiti, "with a fury long kindled," rose in insurrection. They killed 26 Spaniards, including 5 missionaries. They burned and desecrated churches, then abandoned their villages and fled to the mountains as they had done earlier. The Sia, Santa Ana, and San Felipe remained loyal to the Spaniards. Sia and Santa Ana were threatened by the Jemez, who had been reinforced by some Acoma, Zuñi, and Navaho, for siding with the white man. Bartolomé de Ojeda, the Indian governor of Sia (in some accounts he is mistakenly said to be governor of Santa Ana), wrote to Vargas, telling him of their danger and asking him for help. Vargas ordered Ojeda to bring the Sia to Santa Fe, and promised him a military escort (Espinosa, 1942, pp. 248–249). The Sia did not leave their pueblo, however.

In August 1696, Vargas was ready to take punitive action against the rebellious Acoma. He and his party arrived in Sia on August 10, and made that pueblo a base for his operations. After a 3-day siege of Acoma, Vargas returned to Sia, where he rested for a few days. When Spanish soldiers entered the pueblo of Jemez, they found the body of Fray Francisco de Jesús, who had been killed on June 4. His flesh had been gnawed away by animals, but the soldiers gathered together some of his bones, which they took to Sia and buried in the church (Domínguez, 1956, p. 262, n. 44).

The revolt of 1696 was put down before the year was out, and the resistance of the pueblos was broken once and for all, at least as far as armed struggle was concerned (Twitchell, 1916; Espinosa, 1942, ch. 14 and pp. 274–277).

The history of the pueblos of New Mexico during the 18th century is extremely meager; little is known of what took place at Sia during this period, beyond a few notes here and there, most of them dealing with the Church.

It is known that in 1701 a Father Chavarría was at Sia, for the mission records show that he performed a marriage there on November 27. Apparently Bartolomé de Ojeda was still governor of Sia at this time (Domínguez, 1956, p. 263, n. 55). The mission at Sia is mentioned in a church record of 1706; the bell had no tongue and was without ornament, but appeared to be whole; there was a resident priest, who ministered also to Jemez during the absence of its own priest; "the church is being built; it is now at a good height" (Hackett, 1937, p. 376).

It would appear from a brief note in 1707 that the Spaniards were using Sia, at least occasionally, as a base for military operations against the West, as Vargas had done in 1696 (Twitchell, 1912, p. 423).

In 1728–29, according to notes by a missionary, the Indians were "dying like flies from *sarampión*" (measles); they were coughing and spitting blood. Also, this note says: "The Indians of Jemez, Sia, Santa Ana, and Cochiti had rebelled and fled to the sierra with all their belongings, and Governor Bustamente's foresight had prevented other pueblos from doing likewise" (Domínguez, 1956, p. 332). One wonders what incidents lie behind this brief statement. "The rebels returned of their own accord," however, "and the governor welcomed them back with 'very Christian and edifying addresses'" (ibid.). Very different from the old days!

A missionary's note of 1744 speaks briefly of the pueblo, the mission, and friendly relations with Navaho who came to visit a Sia woman whom they had captured and held for 16 years (Hackett, 1937, pp. 404–405). A clerical document of 1754 tells of services rendered the mission and its priest by the people of Sia:

> [the] Indians give the minister for attendance upon the convent two boy students of the doctrine, a bell-ringer, a porter, a cook, two grinding-women, and wood enough for the kitchen and the ovens. They also sow for the minister two *fanegas* of wheat and one *almud* of corn, so that the discomforts of the poor religious are somewhat lessened. [Ibid., pp. 404–405.]

Bishop Tamarón visited Sia in 1760, where he gave two sermons and made 494 confirmations (Adams, 1954, p. 76). A Spanish letter of 1775 reports that "thieves from the Navaho Apaches have come, on six occasions to steal cattle and horses from the pueblos of Xemes, Sia, San Yldefonso . . ." (Thomas, 1940, p. 183).

Father Domínguez made a tour of inspection of the missions of New Mexico in 1776, and he describes the church and convent of Sia in some detail. He also comments briefly upon lands and horticulture. Of the village he says:

> Therefore there is no more to be said with regard to this pueblo of Zia than that its houses are of stone like the hill on which it stands. They are arranged and built in nine small tenements, or blocks, of dwellings. One of them is opposite the church and the rest are to the south in the form of two small plazas open at their four corners, and they are to the east and west of each other [—very much as it was in 1957]. [Domínguez, 1956, p. 175.]

An epidemic of smallpox ravaged the pueblo country in 1780–81, and so reduced the population of nearby Santa Ana that this pueblo became a visita of Sia in 1782 (Bancroft, 1889, pp. 274, 281).

Father Morfi describes the mission and pueblo of Sia in 1782, but apart from geographic and topographic notes, which would be applicable today, he says nothing of significance (Thomas, 1932, pp. 99–100).

Spanish accounts of the early decades of the 19th century mention Sia in a survey of a number of pueblos. "The pueblos mentioned . . . have well-protected walls and are two or more stories high. The lower floors . . . are completely enclosed"; ladders "lead to the rooms above" (Carroll and Haggard, 1942, p. 29). It is not said that Sia, specifically, was surrounded by a high wall, and we may doubt that it was; certainly we have no indication of it either in visible remains or in recollections of informants. Furthermore, the pueblo is located upon a steep hill that would have provided considerable protection. Father Domínguez does not mention a wall surrounding Sia in 1776, whereas he does state that "the whole pueblo [of Santo Domingo] is surrounded by a rather high adobe wall with two gates; this is for resistance against the enemy [Indians] . . . " (Domínguez, 1956, p. 137).

The early 19th-century chronicles quoted by Carroll and Haggard go on to say that

> in spite of the dominion held over them by religion [i.e., Catholicism], all of these pueblos persist in keeping some of the dogmas which have been transmitted to them traditionally, and which they scrupulously teach their descendants. From this arises the worship they render the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies, the reverence they have for fire, etc. . . . All of the pueblos have their *estufas* [kivas] . . . . The doors of the *estufas* are always closed to us, the Spaniards, as they call us . . . . [The salvation of the souls of most of the Indians was] woefully neglected. [Carroll and Haggard, 1942, pp. 27–29.]

The independence of Mexico from Spain, won in 1821, appears to have affected the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico little if at all. The war between Mexico and the United States, 1846–48, had, however, the most profound consequences for the region, because it initiated the ascendancy of Anglo-American influence over that of Hispano-American culture. The consequences of this transition are being worked out to this day.

Prior to the war with Mexico a number of American Army officers visited the pueblo country. Lt. Col. Emory visited Santo Domingo in September 1846, but did not go to Sia (Emory, 1847–48). Lt. J. W. Abert stopped briefly at Santo Domingo and Santa Ana in October 1846, but apparently did not reach Sia (Abert, 1848, pp. 46-47). Lt. J. H. Simpson passed through Santo Domingo and Jemez on his way to the Navaho country to chastise the people there for their depredations (Simpson, 1850, pp. 61–64). He did not go through Sia, apparently, but, according to Keleher (1952, p. 46), some Sia were among the 55 Indians from various pueblos who joined Simpson's forces.

We know nothing of the effect the conduct of the war between Mexico and the United States may have had on the pueblos in general or on Sia in particular. After the American occupation, the Pueblo Indians were administered by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs within the War Department until March 1849, when the Department of the Interior was created. At that time the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of the Interior, and the administration of Indians passed to civil control.

During the American Civil War a Confederate force invaded New Mexico, marched up the Rio Grande valley in 1861 and occupied the capital, but in 1862 was defeated by a Union force in Apache Canyon. We have found no documentary account of the effect of this engagement, if any, on the Pueblo Indians, and have never heard any legends or folktales about it from informants. During the early decades of the American occupation there was much turmoil in New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians suffered much from raids by the Apache and Navaho. The American administration forbade the Pueblos to retaliate but were incapable of providing them with adequate protection from the marauders (Keleher, 1952; Dale, 1949, chs. 4, 8).

There is little mention of Sia in the reports of the early Indian agents. In 1864, John Ward reported that Sia was in "a ruinous condition"; he repeated this statement 3 years later, adding that its population was "fast decreasing" (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff., 1867, p. 194; 1868, p. 212). Anthropological science invaded Sia for the first time, in 1879–80, in the person of Col. James Stevenson, as I have previously noted (p. 1).

Capt. John G. Bourke spent a few days at Sia in 1881. He made numerous inquiries about the religion and social organization, and recorded some valuable observations about the pueblo:

> [The village] I found to my astonishment, to be almost entirely in ruins; there were lights in nine houses only [when he arrived in the evening shortly after dark]; and many were occupied as stables for burros & cattle. Allowing for other families absent or asleep & not having lights in their houses, there can't be over fifteen families in Zia today. The deserted and ruined buildings would lead one to believe that it contained in its palmy days ten times as many. [Later he observed that] this pueblo has evidently been at one time very large. . . One of the houses . . . is two stories high. . . Windows of selenite in every house except one or two of the newest . . . Saw an eagle, kept a prisoner in an abandoned house . . . [Bloom, 1938, pp. 219–223.]

Bourke also described the Catholic church; I cite his account on page 64.

In 1883, the Indian agent reported that "the pueblo of Zia plants little. It enjoys good health, and has a considerable number of animals. It is superstitious and unclean, but promises to learn" (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1883, p. 123).

A brief description of Sia and the mode of life there is given in a report by Henry R. Poore (1894, pp. 430-431). He comments upon the ruinous condition of the village, the meager population, and the poverty. He deals with a few other aspects, also, which I shall refer to topically later on.

The Indian Agent in 1897 reported that the Sia, because of a hailstorm which had destroyed their wheat crop, were "absolutely without the means of support." He commended "them to the charitable commiseration of the Department" (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1897, pp. 200-01).

## SETTING AND BACKGROUND

The historical sketch of Sia has thrown light upon a number of significant points: (1) the subjugation and missionization of the Sia by the Spaniards; (2) the destruction of their pueblo and its subsequent reoccupation; (3) enmity of some other pueblos incurred by Sia for siding, together with Santa Ana and San Felipe, with the Spaniards after the Revolt of 1680; and (4) the decline of the pueblo due to disease, poverty, and possibly to factional strife and to executions for witchcraft.[4] We now turn to a description of the setting and background of Sia and its culture in relatively modern times, since about 1890 when Stevenson concluded her study of this community.

### THE NAME TSÍ·YA

The name of the pueblo here described is Tsi·ya. Harrington (1916, p. 517) spells it Tsé'ja, and says that it is a word of "obscure etymology;" I was unable to discover any English equivalent of it. The name has been spelled variously in the literature: Cia, Cilla, Ciya, Chia, Sia, Siay, Silla, Siya, Tsia, Tria, Trios, Tse-ah, Tse-a, Tzia, Zea, and Zia (ibid., pp. 517–518; Harrington gives a bibliographic reference for each use). After the Mexican War, some Americans in the area, e.g., James Stevenson, apparently seem to have thought that the name was the Spanish *silla* (chair, saddle). The Pueblo Indians and the long-established Mexicans in the Rio Grande region call people from Texas *Tejanos.* The people of Sia would, therefore, be Sillanos, and I find that some of the specimens collected by the Stevensons, now in the U. S. National Museum, are labeled "Sillana." The Keresan term for "people of Tsiya" is Tsé'jamɛ, 'people' (Harrington, 1916, p. 517). By or before the 1950's, when the present study was terminated, "Zia" had become the most generally accepted spelling of the name; it was necessary for the U.S. Post Office to settle upon a spelling, and highway maps, the Indian Service, and the U.S. Public Health Service have tended to follow suit. I am retaining the earlier spelling "Sia" because it is the one used by the Bureau of American Ethnology when it published M. C. Stevenson's monograph, and it is the one used in the Handbook of American Indians (Hodge, 1910, pp. 562–563).

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[4] Bandelier (1890, p. 35 n.) believed, on the basis of unspecified evidence, that Sia, Nambe, and Santa Clara "owe their decline to the constant inter-killing . . . . for supposed evil practices of witchcraft." There have been rumors that factional strife broke out after Mrs. Stevenson left Sia and that "some people got sick and died" as a consequence.

## HABITAT

Sia is located in the upper Sonoran life zone of north-central New Mexico, at latitude 35°30′ N. and about 13 miles west of longitude 106°30′; the elevation is about 5,500 feet above sea level. The pueblo lies on the left bank of the Jemez River a few miles below the confluence of the Jemez and the Rio Salado (Salt River) (fig. 2); it is about 20 miles west of the Rio Grande. Rocky mesas and sandy slopes and plains are the principal topographic features. The Jemez Mountains (maximum elevation about 11,500 feet) lie about 15 miles to the

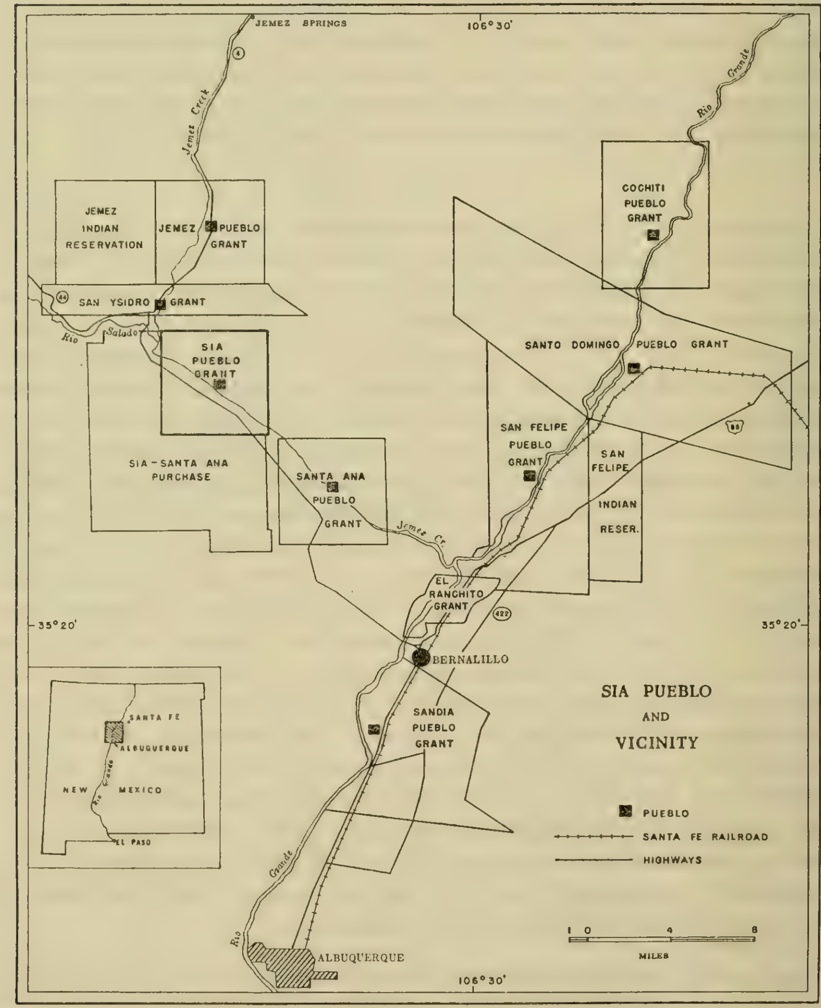
JEMEZ SPRINGS
106° 30'
4
Jemez Creek
Rio Grande
JEMEZ INDIAN RESERVATION
JEMEZ PUEBLO GRANT
COCHITI PUEBLO GRANT
44
SAN YSIDRO GRANT
Rio Salado
SIA PUEBLO GRANT
SANTO DOMINGO PUEBLO GRANT
SAN FELIPE PUEBLO GRANT
SAN FELIPE INDIAN RESER.
85
SIA - SANTA ANA PURCHASE
SANTA ANA PUEBLO GRANT
Jemez Cr.
EL RANCHITO GRANT
422
35° 20'
35° 20'
BERNALILLO
SANDIA PUEBLO GRANT
SIA PUEBLO AND VICINITY
SANTA FE
ALBUQUERQUE
NEW MEXICO
Rio Grande
EL PASO
PUEBLO
SANTA FE RAILROAD
HIGHWAYS
1 0 4 8
MILES
Rio Grande
ALBUQUERQUE
106° 30'

FIGURE 2.—Sia and vicinity.

north of Sia; the Sandias (maximum elevation about 11,000 feet) are about 20 miles to the southeast.

Pine, spruce, and fir in the mountains, junipers and piñon in the foothills and on the mesas, and cottonwood in the Rio Grande valley are the principal trees of the region. Grasses, yuccas, cactus, saltbush (*Atriplex canescens*), rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus* sp.), bush morning-glory (*Ipomoea leptophylla*), and snakeweed (*Gutierrezia* sp.) are characteristic plants of the region (White, 1945). Deer, antelope, puma, wildcat, bear, badger, coyote, fox, rabbit, and squirrel are prominent among the mammalian fauna. The bison merely touched the Pueblo country in the northeastern part of the State; antelope have been rendered virtually extinct in the region by hunters (V. Bailey, 1931; White, 1947 b). Hawk, eagle, sparrow hawk, owl, hummingbird, road runner, dove, meadow lark, magpie, quail, some turkey in the mountains, and ducks in season are the principal birds (F. M. Bailey, 1928). Bull snake, king snake, rattlesnake, whip snake, racers, hog-nose snake, and various kinds of lizards, turtles and toads are found. Vernon Bailey's "Life Zones and Crop Zones of New Mexico" (1913) presents an excellent description of the habitat of the pueblos of New Mexico, including data on climate, topography (illustrated with maps of life zones), flora, and fauna.

There are few minerals of consequence in the Pueblo country in general or in the vicinity of Sia in particular. Sia has excellent clay for pottery and a fine mineral pigment for its decoration. Malachite, a native green basic carbonate of copper, is available for making the blue-green paint for masks and other ceremonial paraphernalia. Mica or selenite or both are found; the former is used as a paint, the latter was formerly used for windows (see p. 28). A natural mixture of magnetite and hematite is found "in hunks in the mountains." It is called stcamun and is used as a paint (see White, 1948, pp. 368–372, for data on use of minerals by Keresan pueblos). Uranium has been found in considerable quantity on the Laguna Reservation, but by 1957 none had been located on the lands of the Sia although little if any competent prospecting had been done by that time.

## CLIMATE

The Jemez River is low during most of the year; sometimes it is almost dry. I have crossed it many times in an automobile. The arroyos are bone-dry most of the time, but after thundershowers in the summer they may become turbulent streams for a short time. The following climatological data are based on readings at the U.S. Weather Bureau station near Bernalillo, the nearest one to Sia. Bernalillo is lower in altitude than Sia and may be a little warmer and drier. Mean annual precipitation is about 9 inches. July, August, and September are the "rainy season," with precipitation averaging 3.93 inches, or more than 44 percent of the year's total. Curiously enough, June had the least mean precipitation of any month between 1938 and 1952, inclusive. Yearly averages are fairly uniform: the least amount of precipitation, 1938 to 1952, inclusive, was 4.99 inches; the greatest, 16.72 inches; in 8 of these 15 years, precipitation was more than 6 and less than 9 inches. Eighty-two percent of the mean annual snowfall of 9.1 inches occurs in November to February, inclusive.

The mean annual maximum temperature is 71°; the mean minimum, 36°; and the mean annual, 54°. The highest temperature is 102° F.; the lowest, −18°. June, July, and August are the hottest months, with means of 69°, 75°, and 73°, respectively. December, January, and February are the coldest, with means of 35°, 33.5°, and 37°, respectively. The interval between mean maximum and mean minimum temperatures ranges from 30.5° in January to 41° in June. The date of the last killing frost in spring ranges from March 20 to May 1, with a mean of April 13. The date of the first killing frost in fall ranges from September 17 to November 17, with a mean of October 28. The growing season ranges from 157 to 239 days, with a mean of 198 days.

February, March, and April are usually very windy, with velocities occassionally reaching 50 or 60 miles an hour. Sand and dust storms are not infrequent and are very irritating to the respiratory tract and the eyes. But, on the whole, the climate is healthful.

## PHYSICAL TYPE

Although "the quantity of physical anthropological work published on the Southwest is greater than that available for any other American culture area . . . with the possible exception of the Arctic Coastal area," according to Spuhler (1954, p. 604; this article provides a review of the history of physical anthropological studies in the Southwest), there are rather few data for the Keres in general and very little for Sia.

Hrdlička described physical type in general among the pueblos, but emphasized that they do not constitute a homogeneous group (Hrdlička, 1935, pp. 263-266, 457, 459). So far as we know, only seven Sias have ever been measured anthropometrically, namely, seven men measured by Hrdlička; the pueblo council would not permit him to measure women (Hrdlička, 1908, pp. 133, 136; 1935, p. 246). The average stature of these men was 162.4 cm. The Sia were the shortest of men in nine New Mexico pueblos measured; shorter, also, than the Hopi. Hrdlička suggests that diminutive stature may be due, in part at least, to "chronic want" (Hrdlička, 1935, pp. 269–70). At Sia Hrdlička found the longest heads of any pueblo, with the exception of Taos, in a list of eight New Mexico pueblos. Cephalic index at Sia was 78.5, but this was an average of only three crania. Sia, Acoma, and San Juan had the highest percentages of artificially deformed (cradle flattening) male heads of the New Mexico pueblos measured (Hrdlička, 1935, pp. 250, 313).

We may infer that the Sia belong predominantly to the O blood group, with type A being next most frequent, since neighboring tribes are of this composition: Cochiti, type O, 88.0 percent, type A, 11.7 percent; Jemez, type O, 78.4 percent, type A, 20.0 percent; New Mexico Navaho, type O, 69.1 percent, type A, 30.6 percent (Boyd, 1939, pp. 221–222). Ten Sias were tested at the U.S. Indian Hospital and Indian School in Albuquerque for incidence of the Rh factor; they were all Rh positive, as were all others tested from Keresan pueblos and from Jemez (Gerheim, 1947, p. 420).

Stevenson has a number of photographs in "The Sia," and there are others in the Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., which exhibit physical type at Sia very well.

## LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

Sia belongs to the Keresan linguistic family, which also includes Acoma, Laguna, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. There is considerable difference of opinion with regard to dialectal differences among the Keresan pueblos (cf. White, 1942 a, p. 34). J. P. Harrington (1916, p. 519), a linguist, states that "the dialect [of Sia] resembles closely the dialects of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Santa Ana, and is more distantly related to those of Laguna and Acoma." In the opinion of one of my informants, the dialect of Santa Ana is closest to that of Sia; then come Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Acoma, and Cochiti. All the Keresan pueblos understand one another quite readily, however. I have the impression that Acoma, and possibly Laguna also, present greater lexical differences from the eastern pueblos than can be found among the latter villages themselves.

Few studies of the Keresan language have been published. Boas published "A Keresan Text" (1921–23) and "Keresan Texts" (1925, 1928). Robert F. Spencer wrote a master's thesis on "A Preliminary Sketch of Keresan Grammar" (Univ. New Mexico, 1940). He later published "The Phonemes of Keresan" (1946). Irvine Davis did a master's thesis on "Santa Ana Phonology" (Univ. New Mexico, 1958). There is an appendix on "A Note on Cochiti Linguistics," by J. R. Fox (in Lange, 1959, pp. 557–572).

At the time of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, "many of the Indian leaders of the New Mexico pueblos could not only read, but could write as well—fruits of the educational work of the Franciscan missionaries. . . . In the Vargas documents there are filed a number of letters written by the Indian governors of Santa Ana Tesuque to Vargas, and in very good Castilian" (Espinosa, 1942, p. 135 n. 72). Bartolomé de Ojeda of Sia (see p. 23) was one of these. Father Domínquez (1956, p. 175) reported in 1776 that the natives of the Keresan pueblos spoke Spanish, "but brokenly." In 1890, 73 of the 106 Sia could speak Spanish, but only 1 was able to read and write that language; only 3 could speak English; 2 were said to be able to read and write English (Poore, 1894, p. 420). In 1910, 73 percent of the Sia of 10 years of age and over were unable to speak English; among the Keresan pueblos the percentage of those unable to speak English was highest at Santo Domingo (85) and lowest at Laguna (55). This percentage was higher among women than among men, both at Sia and among the Keres in general (U.S. Bur. Census, 1915, p. 245). In 1936, 125 of the 203 Sia were able to speak English; 110 were able to read and write English (United Pueblos Agency).

I did not make a linguistic census of Sia, but I believe the following statements are valid: (1) Almost everyone can speak some Spanish, enough at least for social and business intercourse with their Mexican neighbors; some speak it as well as their Spanish-American neighbors. (2) Almost everyone except those of 60 years of age or more can speak English. (3) The percentage of people who can speak English has definitely increased since 1900. (4) Most persons below the age of 45 can read and write English. (5) A few Sias can speak some Navaho; a few know some words in the Jemez language but not enough, I believe, to carry on a conversation in that tongue.

## POPULATION

As we have already seen, Espejo described Sia in 1583 as "a very large pueblo . . . with eight plazas . . ." the principal one of the five pueblos in the province of Los Punames. Luxán called it "an important city of more than a thousand houses inhabited by more than four thousand men over fifteen years of age, and women and children in addition" (Hammond and Rey, eds., 1929, pp. 83–84). This is no doubt a gross exaggeration, but the extensive ruins upon which the modern village rests indicate that the town was once considerably larger than it has been during the past century. It is said that some 600 Sias were killed by Cruzate when he destroyed their pueblo in 1689, and yet Vargas found enough survivors to reoccupy the village after his reconquest. Turning to actual accounts, accurate or otherwise, we have data for various times between 1694 and 1957 presented in table 1, and in part in figure 3.

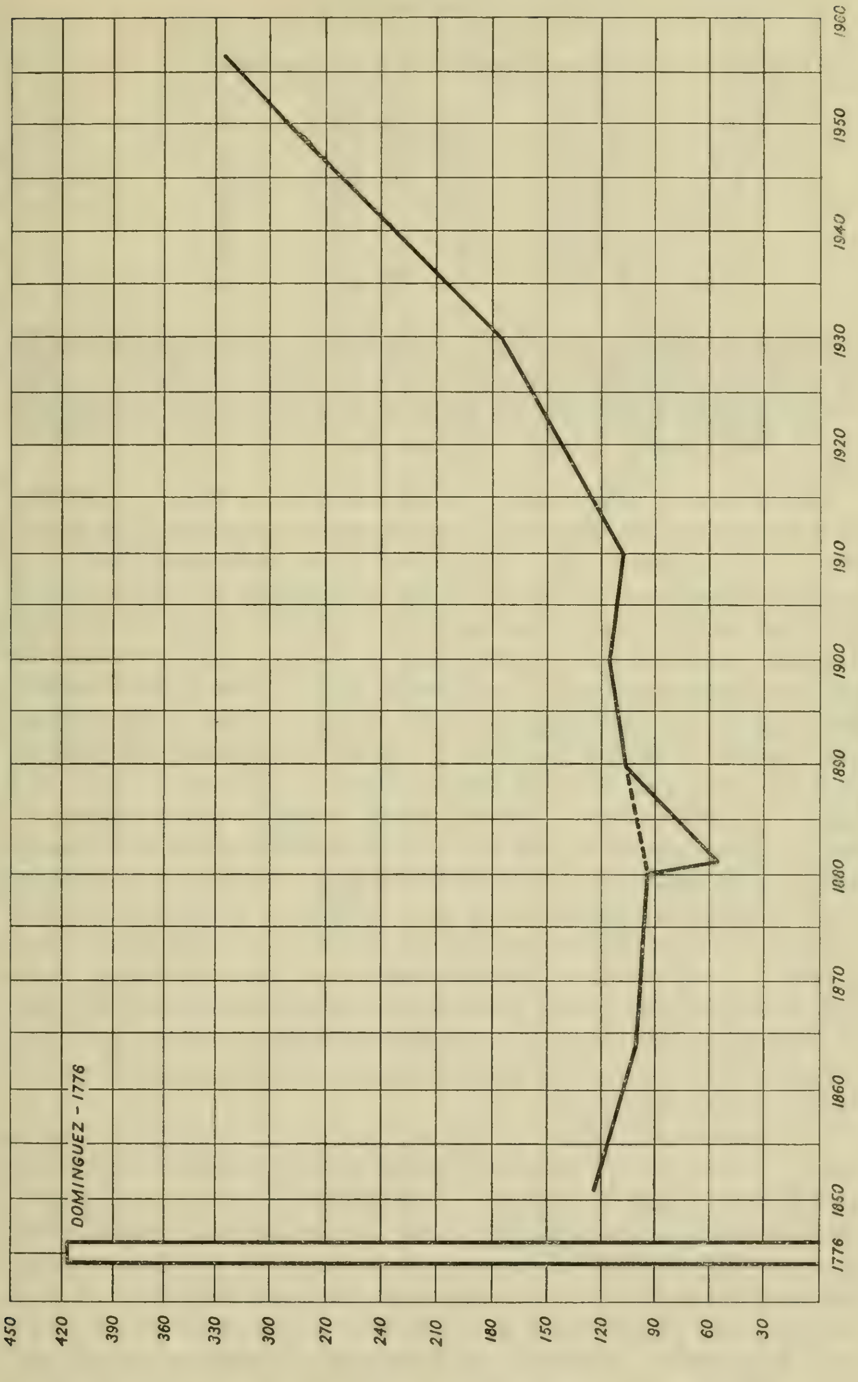

FIGURE 3.—Population of Sia.

TABLE 1.—*Population of Sia* [1]

| No. | Year | Population | No. | Year | Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1694 | 279 | 13 | 1881 | 58 |
| 2 | 1706 | 500 | 14 | 1890 | 106 |
| 3 | 1730 | 318 | 15 | 1900 | 114 |
| 4 | 1760 | 568 | 16 | 1910 | 109 |
| 5 | 1776 | 416 | 17 | 1920 | 140 |
| 6 | 1790 | 275 | 18 | 1925 | 157 |
| 7 | 1808 | 278 | 19 | 1930 | 177 |
| 8 | 1850 | 124 | 20 | 1936 | 203 |
| 9 | 1860 | 115 | 21 | 1942 | 235 |
| 10 | 1871 | 121 | 22 | 1948 | 269 |
| 11 | 1879 | 115 | 23 | 1953 | 298 |
| 12 | 1880 | 92 | 24 | 1957 | 327 |

[1] Sources of the data by No.: (1) Espinosa, 1942, p. 216; (2) Hackett, ed., 1937, p. 376; (3) Adams, ed., 1954, p. 97; (4) ibid., p. 66; (5) Domínguez, 1956, p. 175; (6) Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1867, p. 213; (7) ibid.; (8) ibid.; (9) U.S. Bur. Cens., 1864, p. 570; (10) Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1871, p. 388; (11) Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1879, pp. 118, 238; (12) Bandelier's letter (unpublished) to Charles Eliot Norton, dated Cochiti, Dec. 11, 1880; (13) U.S. Bur. Cens., 1915, p. 86; also, Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1881, p. 140; (14) Poore, 1894, p. 420; Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1890, p. 543; (15) Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1900, p. 292; (16) U.S. Bur. Cens., 1915, p. 15; (17) U.S. Sen., 1932, pt. 19, p. 9887; (18) ibid.; (19) ibid.; (20) United Pueblos Agency; (21) Aberle, 1948, p. 90; (22) United Pueblos Agency; (23) ibid.; (24) White's census.

I have no way of evaluating the data in table 1, but I am inclined to believe that the later figures are more accurate than the earlier ones. It is apparent that Sia suffered a very substantial decline in population between the middle of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century; there appears to have been a marked drop during the first half of the 19th century. It is difficult to believe that the population shrank to only 58 persons in 1881, in view of the census of 1879 and Bandelier's count in 1880. Since the turn of the century the population of Sia has been growing; it increased 187 percent between 1900 and 1957, 84 percent between 1930 and 1957. The figure for 1957 is from a careful census made by myself, using, of course, data from the Indian agency. During the course of my study of Sia, I compiled a file in which I had a card for everyone, living or dead, who has lived in Sia, either as a native or as an outsider who had married into the pueblo, and about whom I could get reliable information. Data on these cards included such items as names, both Indian and White; date of birth, names of parents, siblings, spouses, children; clan affiliation; membership in societies; offices held; and miscellaneous information of significance. My file comprises a veritable "Who's Who in Sia."

The population of Sia, by age and sex, for 1930 and for 1957 is shown in table 2. The data of this table are presented graphically in figures 4, 5, and 6. Figure 4 shows that the percentage of people, of both sexes, below the age of 36 was considerably less in 1930 than in 1957, whereas the reverse was the case, but to a lesser extent, for ages above 36. The percentage of the population under 1 year in 1930 was greater than that for 1957: 3.4 percent as compared with 1.5 percent. Similarly, the percentage of people under the age of 4 in 1930 was greater than that in 1957: 14.1 percent as compared

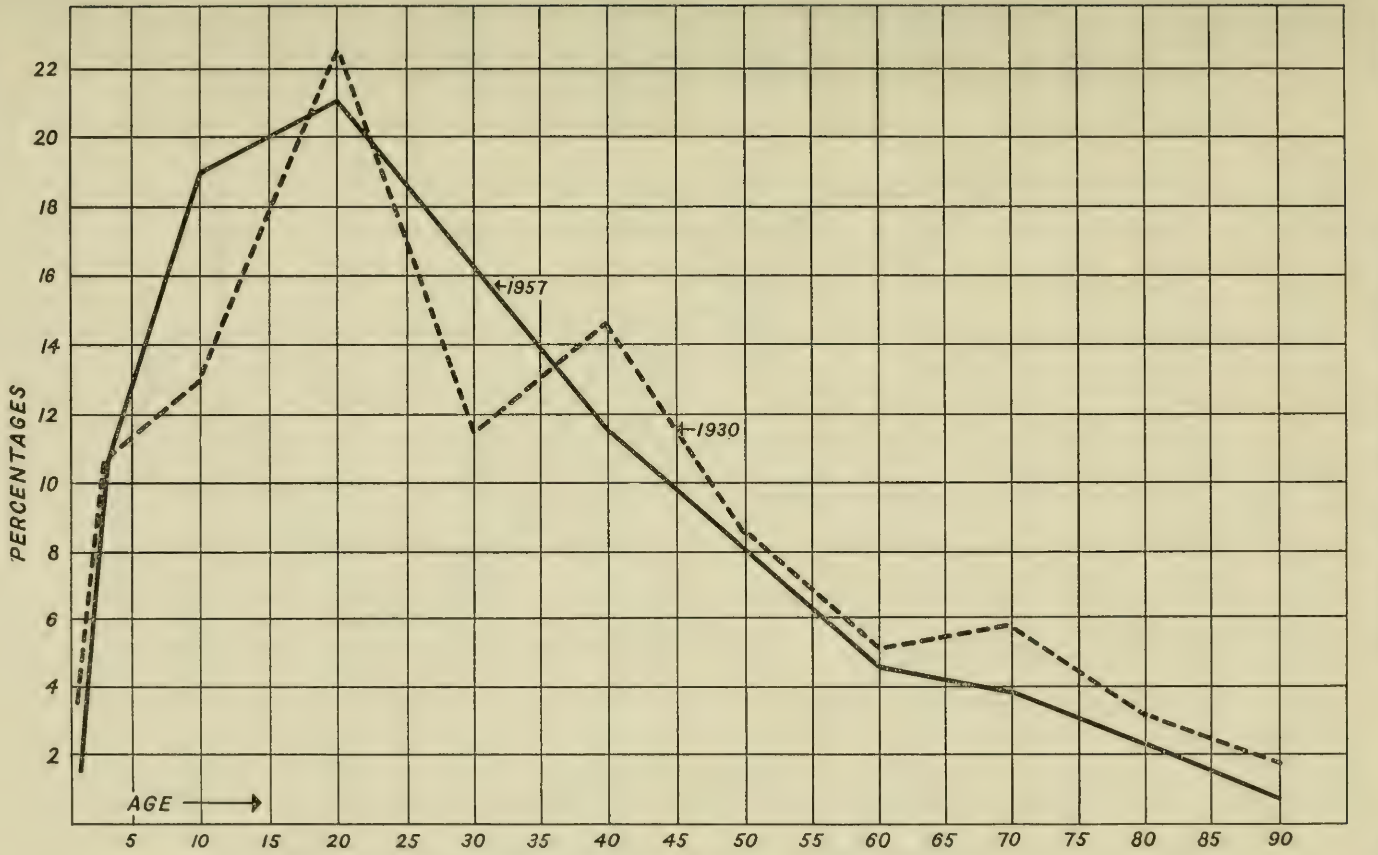

FIGURE 4.—Sia: age distribution, both sexes. (Towers, broken line; White, solid line.)

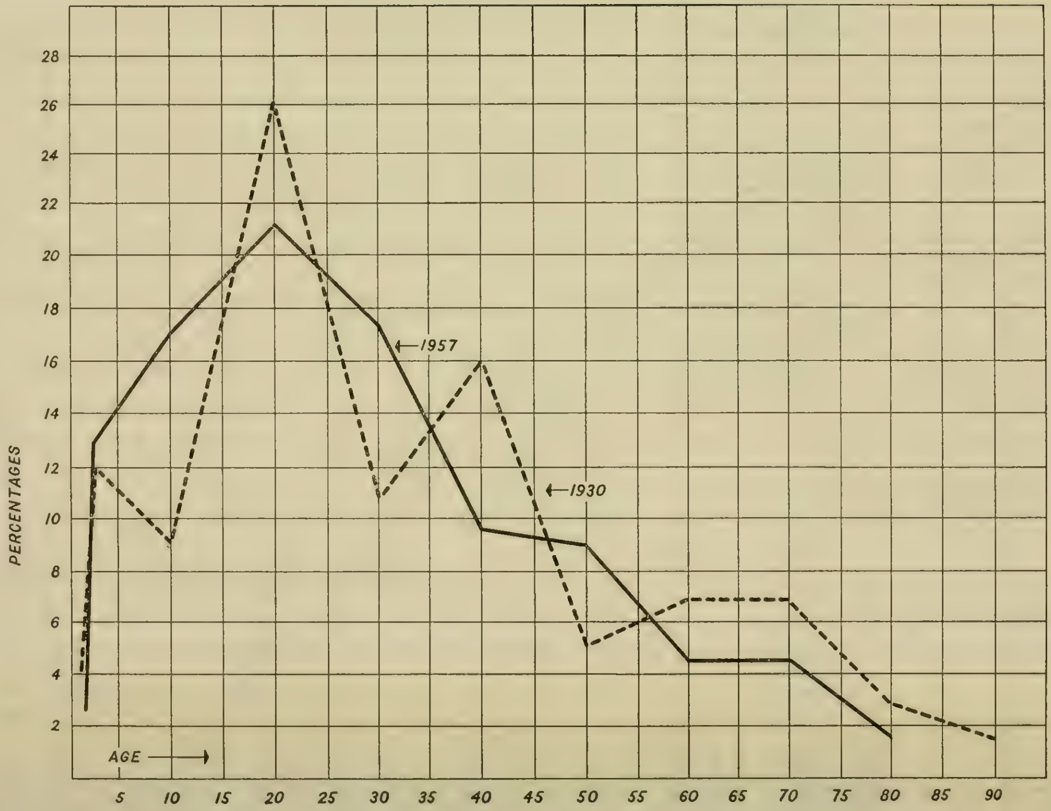

FIGURE 5.—Sia: age distribution, females. (Towers, broken line; White, solid line.)

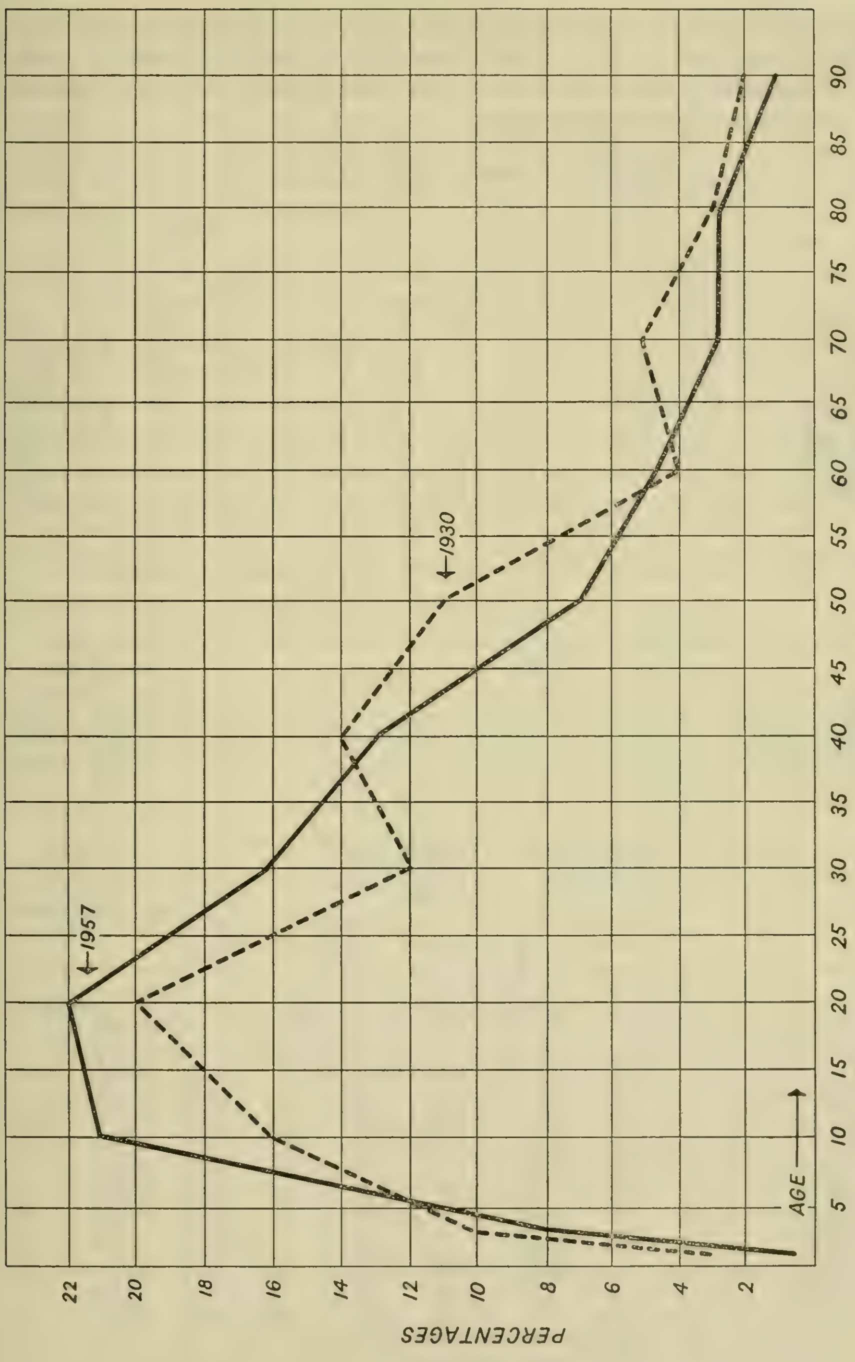

Figure 6.—Sia: age distribution, males. (Towers, broken line; White, solid line.)

with 11.8 percent. But the percentage under 10 in 1930 was less than that in 1957: 27.1 percent as compared with 30.8 percent. And the percentage under 20 in 1930 was less than in 1957: 49.7 percent as compared with 52.3 percent.

TABLE 2.—*Population of Sia by age and sex*

| Age | Towers, 1930[1] | | | | | | White, 1957 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | Percent | F | Percent | MF | Percent | M | Percent | F | Percent | MF | Percent |
| Under 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4.0 | 6 | 3.4 | 1 | 0.6 | 4 | 2.6 | 5 | 1.5 |
| 1 to 3 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 11.8 | 19 | 10.7 | 14 | 8.1 | 20 | 12.8 | 34 | 10.3 |
| 4 to 9 | 16 | 16 | 7 | 9.2 | 23 | 13.0 | 36 | 20.8 | 27 | 17.3 | 63 | 19.0 |
| 10 to 19 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 26.3 | 40 | 22.6 | 38 | 22 0 | 33 | 21.2 | 71 | 21.5 |
| 20 to 29 | 12 | 12 | 8 | 10.5 | 20 | 11.3 | 28 | 16.2 | 27 | 17.3 | 55 | 16.6 |
| 30 to 39 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 15.8 | 26 | 14.7 | 23 | 13.3 | 15 | 9.6 | 38 | 11.5 |
| 40 to 49 | 11 | 11 | 4 | 5.3 | 15 | 8.5 | 13 | 7.5 | 14 | 9 | 27 | 8.1 |
| 50 to 59 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6.6 | 9 | 5.1 | 8 | 4.6 | 7 | 4.5 | 15 | 4.5 |
| 60 to 69 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6.5 | 10 | 5.6 | 5 | 2.9 | 7 | 4.5 | 12 | 3.6 |
| 70 to 79 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2.6 | 5 | 2.8 | 5 | 2.9 | 2 | 1.3 | 7 | 2.1 |
| 80 to 89 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1.3 | 3 | 1.6 | 2 | 1.2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | .6 |
| Unknown | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | .56 | | | | | | |
| Total | 101 | | 76 | | 177 | | 173 | | 156 | | 329 | |

[1] "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States" (U.S. Sen., 1932, pt. 19, p. 9887).

TABLE 3.—*Percentage of population under 20 years of age*

| Pueblo | 1930 | 1957 |
|---|---|---|
| Sia | 49.7 | 52.8 |
| Jemez | 49.4 | 52.4 |
| Santo Domingo | 42.3 | 52.3 |
| Santa Ana | 41.9 | 52.0 |
| San Felipe | 40.0 | 52.3 |

TABLE 4.—*Comparison of the population of Sia with that of New Mexico*

| Age | Sia, 1957 | | | | | | New Mexico,[1] 1950 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | | Females | | Both sexes | | | |
| | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number in thousands | Percent |
| 0 to 4 | 18 | 10.4 | 33 | 21.2 | 51 | 15.5 | 94.9 | 14.0 |
| 5 to 9 | 33 | 19.1 | 18 | 11.5 | 51 | 15.5 | 77.0 | 11.3 |
| 10 to 14 | 18 | 10.4 | 18 | 11.5 | 36 | 10.9 | 65.2 | 9.6 |
| 15 to 19 | 20 | 11.6 | 15 | 9.6 | 35 | 10.6 | 57.1 | 8.4 |
| 20 to 24 | 17 | 9.8 | 16 | 10.3 | 33 | 10.0 | 57.6 | 8.5 |
| 25 to 29 | 11 | 6.4 | 11 | 7.0 | 22 | 6.6 | 57.4 | 8.4 |
| 30 to 34 | 11 | 6.4 | 10 | 6.4 | 21 | 6.4 | 50.1 | 7.4 |
| 35 to 39 | 12 | 7.0 | 5 | 3.2 | 17 | 5.2 | 47.3 | 7.0 |
| 40 to 44 | 8 | 4.6 | 10 | 6.4 | 18 | 5.5 | 39.6 | 5.8 |
| 45 to 49 | 5 | 2.9 | 4 | 2.6 | 9 | 2.7 | 33.3 | 4.9 |
| 50 to 54 | 5 | 2.9 | 4 | 2.6 | 9 | 2.7 | 27.3 | 4.0 |
| 55 to 59 | 3 | 1.1 | 3 | 1.9 | 6 | 1.8 | 23.1 | 3.4 |
| 60 to 64 | 2 | 1.1 | 3 | 1.9 | 5 | 1.5 | 18.2 | 2.7 |
| 65 to 69 | 3 | 1.7 | 4 | 2.6 | 7 | 2.1 | 14.0 | 2.1 |
| 70 to 74 | 4 | 2.3 | 2 | 1.3 | 6 | 1.8 | 8.7 | 1.3 |
| 75 to 84 | 3 | 1.7 | 2 | 1.3 | 3 | .9 | 8.7 | 1.3 |
| 85+ | 0 | | 0 | | | | 1.6 | .2 |
| Total | 173 | | 156 | | | | | |

[1] Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1953, p. 32.

The percentage of the population under 20 years of age in Sia and in neighboring pueblos for 1930 and 1957 is shown in table 3. Data for 1930 are from "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States" (U.S. Sen., 1932, pt. 19); figures for 1957 are from a Program Analysis of the U.S. Public Health Service, July, 1957 (their estimate for Sia's population is 345 which is much less accurate, I am sure, than our careful survey).

It is apparent that Sia closely resembles her neighbors in these percentages. Apparent also is the fact that there was a uniform and an appreciable increase in percentage of young people in these pueblos between 1930 and 1957. The significance of this increase is not clear, however.

Table 4 and figure 7 show a comparison of the population of Sia (1957) by age groups with that of the State of New Mexico (1950). The percentages of the younger age groups in Sia exceed those of New Mexico up to age 25, after which percentages for Sia are smaller,

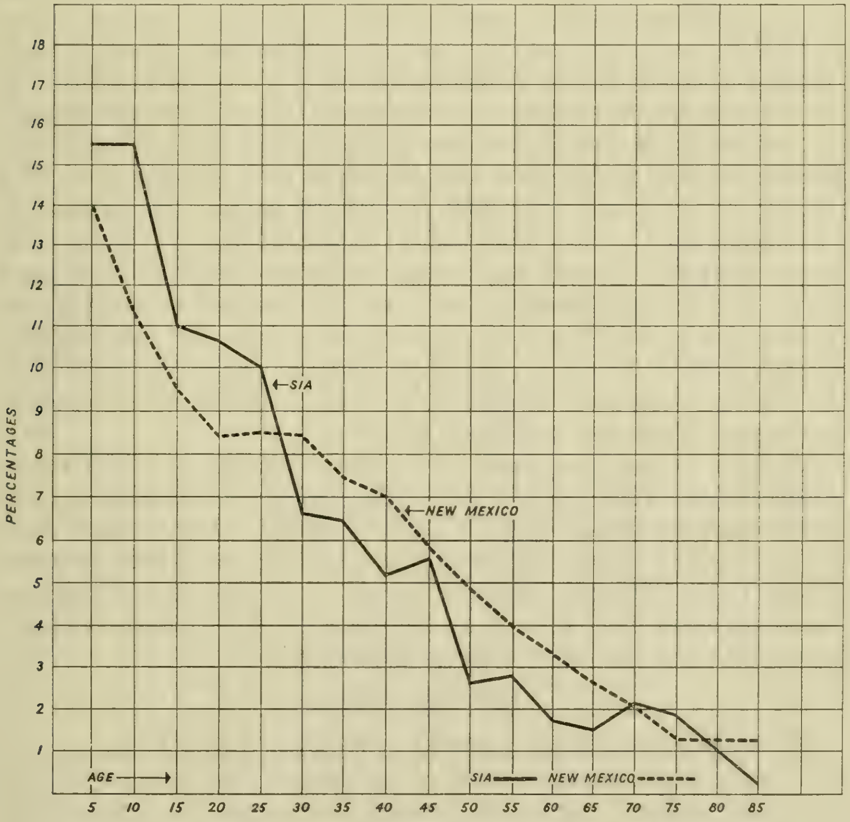

Figure 7.—Age distribution: Sia (1957) compared with New Mexico (1950).

with two exceptions. Of the population of Sia, 62.5 percent was under 25 years of age (1957) as compared with 51.7 percent for New Mexico (1950).

The data show that Sia closely resembles its Indian neighbors with regard to age distribution of population. They show also that Sia has a young population; and, at least for the age group under 20, it has become even younger since 1930. This may be due to decrease in infant mortality in recent years, coupled with considerable increase in population.

## SEX RATIO

The percentage of males at Sia has exceeded that of females, sometimes very greatly, for as long as data are available. But Sia is not exceptional in this respect by any means; the same situation has prevailed in pueblos in the vicinity of Sia (table 5). I am unable to explain this preponderance of males over females. In 1930 Superintendent Towers of the Indian Agency stated that the preponderance of males was due "largely to the death of mothers during childbirth, as we have been unable to prevail upon the Indian mothers to put themselves under the care of Government physicians or attend Government hospitals during confinement" (U.S. Sen., 1932, pt. 19, p. 9875). But his own figures do not support this explanation: in 1930 the percentage of females between the ages of 20 and 39, inclusive—the childbearing period—was slightly larger than that for men: 26.3 percent as compared with 26.0 percent for males. My census of 1957 would lend some support to Towers' theory, for it shows that 51.5 percent of males and 53.9 percent of females were under 20 years of age, whereas 29.5 percent of males and 26.9 percent of females were between the ages of 20 and 39, inclusive (table 2). But, according to our information, from Government doctors and nurses as well as from the Sia, few women die in childbirth. I believe we have no adequate explanation of the preponderance of males.

I believe we see a tendency of the predominance of males to diminish between 1890 and 1957 among the five pueblos included in table 5, although the trend in some cases is erratic. But in each case, except Santo Domingo, the number of males per 100 females is smallest for 1957. The data strongly suggest that some factor has been operating since 1890 toward an equalization of the numbers of the sexes, but what this factor may be I have no idea.

## MARITAL STATUS

We have two marriage censuses of Sia; and marital status could be inferred from all census rolls of the Agency, but not with a high degree of accuracy. In 1923, Halseth (1924 b, p. 68) counted the married, single, and widowed. He did not specify ages; he merely distinguished "adults" from "children." In 1957, I worked out a census of marital status by age and sex (table 6). Table 7 presents the results of these two censuses.

TABLE 5.—*Males per 100 females*

| Year[1] | Sia | Jemez | Santa Ana | San Felipe | Santo Domingo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1863 | 106 | | | | |
| 1890 | 116 | 152 | 153 | 130 | 132 |
| 1904 | 132 | | | | |
| 1910 | 127 | 129 | 145 | 125 | 113 |
| 1920 | 126 | 117 | 148 | 124 | |
| 1930 | 131 | 119 | 148 | 130 | 140 |
| 1936 | 118 | | | | |
| 1942 | 124 | 110 | 122 | 117 | 131 |
| 1948 | 127 | | | | |
| 1957 | 111 | 105 | 119 | 103 | 119 |

[1] Based on data in the following sources: 1863 (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. for 1864); 1890 (Poore, 1894, p. 420); 1904 (United Pueblos Agency); 1910 (U.S. Bur. Cens., 1915, pp. 47, 135, 148); 1920, (U.S. Sen. 1932, pt. 19, p. 9882); 1930 (ibid., p. 9882); 1936 (United Pueblos Agency); 1942 (Aberle, 1948, p. 90); 1948 (United Pueblos Agency); 1957 (United Pueblos Agency).

TABLE 6.—*Sia: Marital status by age and sex, 1957*

| Age | Husband | Wife | Widower | Widow | Bachelor | Spinster | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | | | | | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| 19 | | | | | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| 20 | | 3 | | | 1 | 3 | 7 |
| 21 | | 1 | | | 5 | | 6 |
| 22 | | 1 | | | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| 23 | 1 | | | | 5 | 3 | 9 |
| 24 | 1 | 3 | | | 1 | | 5 |
| 25 | | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| 26 | 3 | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| 27 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| 28 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| 29 | 2 | 3 | | | 1 | | 6 |
| 30 | 2 | 2 | | | | 2 | 6 |
| 31 to 35 | 5 | 4 | | | 5 | 2 | 16 |
| 36 to 40 | 8 | 8 | | 1 | 6 | | 23 |
| 41 to 45 | 5 | 7 | 1 | | | 1 | 14 |
| 46 to 50 | 4 | 2 | 1 | | | | 7 |
| 51 to 55 | 5 | 3 | | 1 | | | 9 |
| 56 to 60 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| 61 to 65 | 4 | 2 | | | | | 6 |
| 66 to 70 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | | | 6 |
| 71 to 75 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 5 |
| 76 to 80 | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 81 to 85 | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| Total | 48 | 48 | 5 | 5 | 37 | 26 | 169 |

TABLE 7.—*Marital status in Sia*

WHITE, 1957, PERSONS 18 YEARS AND OLDER

| Sex | Married | Percent | Single | Percent | Widowed | Percent | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 48 | 53.3 | 37 | 41.1 | 5 | 5.5 | 90 |
| Females | 48 | 60.8 | 26 | 32.9 | 5 | 6.3 | 79 |
| Both | 96 | 56.8 | 63 | 37.3 | 10 | 5.9 | 169 |

HALSETH, 1923, ADULT MALES AND FEMALES

| Sex | Married | Percent | Single | Percent | Widowed | Percent | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 25 | 58.1 | 12 | 27.9 | 6 | 14.0 | 43 |
| Females | 25 | 64.1 | 7 | 17.9 | 7 | 17.9 | 39 |
| Both | 50 | 61.0 | 19 | 23.2 | 13 | 15.9 | 82 |

The percentage of married people in Sia strikes one as remarkably small, and it appears to have decreased between 1923 (61 percent of adults) and 1957 (56.8 percent of persons 18 years of age and older). The percentage of single males is large. This is due in part, of course, to the numerical preponderance of men and to monogamy, but not wholly, by any means: in 1957 there were 16 unmarried females between the ages of 18 and 25, inclusive, as compared with 22 unmarried males in the same age range. And the percentage of single males has increased between 1923 (27.9) and 1957 (41.1) despite a decline in the excess of males over females (see table 5). Of the 37 bachelors in 1957, 15 were over 25; 13 were over 30; some never marry.

Table 8 gives a comparison of the marital status in Sia in 1957 with that of nearby pueblos in 1910. (The data for the latter are from "Indian Population in the United States and Alaska, 1910," U.S. Census, 1915, p. 165).

TABLE 8.—*Marital status: Sia compared with nearby pueblos for persons 15 years of age and older (in percentages)*

| Pueblo | Year | Male | | | Female | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Single | Married | Widowed | Single | Married | Widowed |
| Cochiti | 1910 | 23 | 70 | 7 | 12 | 72 | 16 |
| San Felipe | 1910 | 43 | 40 | 16 | 21.5 | 63 | 16 |
| Santa Ana | 1910 | 41 | 41 | 18 | 17 | 74 | 11 |
| St. Domingo | 1910 | 32 | 57 | 11 | 24 | 66 | 9.5 |
| Sia | 1957 | 49 | 46 | 5 | 39 | 55 | 6 |

Here, again, we note the high percentage of single persons in Sia; higher than in any of the other four pueblos, and in some instances much higher. The percentage of married women is smallest for Sia, but two other pueblos have smaller percentages of married men. The percentage of widowed is also smallest for Sia, which would appear to indicate that the widowed at Sia are more inclined to remarry than those in the other four pueblos.

Table 9 gives a comparison of the marital status of persons 14 years and older in Sia for 1957 with that of the same age group in the State of New Mexico in 1950 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953, p. 50).

TABLE 9.—*Marital status: Sia, 1957, compared with New Mexico, 1950, for persons 14 years of age and over (in percentages)*

| | Males | | | Females | | | Both sexes | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Married | Single | Widowed-divorced | Married | Single | Widowed-divorced | Married | Single | Widowed-divorced |
| Sia | 44 | 52 | 4 | 55 | 39 | 6 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| New Mexico | 66 | 28 | 6 | 69 | 20 | 11 | 67 | 24 | 8 |

The percentage of single persons is thus very high in Sia as compared with New Mexico, almost twice as high, as a matter of fact.

It seems apparent from the foregoing statistics that marriage is not very important, or essential, to the conduct of social life in Sia. In 1957, 31 women, single and widowed, comprising 39.2 percent of females of 18 years of age and over, had no husband; 42 males, single or widowed, or 46.6 percent of males 18 years of age and over, had no wife. Marriage in not necessary to procreation, and there is no stigma attached to unmarried mothers. In 1957 there were definitely 3 women who had borne and reared children out of wedlock: one was 74 years old and had reared 4 children; another was 62 and had reared 2 children; and a third was 30 and had 4 childern. None had ever married. In addition to these, there were 4 women who in all probability (I cannot be sure from my census) had one or two children each without matrimony; they ranged from 22 to 30 years of age. In one or two instances I heard of an unmarried mother whose daughter also had borne children out of wedlock. No one, I feel safe in saying, need marry to gratify sexual needs.

Nor is marriage necessary for economic reasons in many, if not all, instances. The household is the principal economic unit, and it almost always contains one or more men, whether they are married or not. And, besides, women make a contribution to subsistence, apart from housekeeping, through horticulture, in making pottery or curios for sale, or in chicken raising.

Unfortunately, my statistical analysis of marital status at Sia was not undertaken until after my fieldwork there was terminated. I knew, of course, that there were many unmarried persons in the community, but I was astonished when statistical analysis revealed the very high incidence of celibacy. Had I realized this earlier I would have made it a subject of special inquiry.

## DRESS

Photographs in Stevenson's "The Sia" show that the old-fashioned, possibly aboriginal, woven, sleeveless woman's dress, which leaves the left shoulder bare, was rather generally worn during the 1880's (see also Curtis, ed., 1926, vol. 16, pls.). Women are shown wearing moccasins and leggings, also. Photographs in the files of the Bureau of American Ethnology, taken about 1890, show men wearing pajama-like trousers and moccasins. But photographs of that era also show clothing, for both men and women, that had been obtained from traders' stores.

A visitor described the costume of the governor of Sia in 1912 as "orthodox Pueblo costume—flapping, white cotton trousers and cotton shirt, worn blouselike outside of them, his head encircled with a red bandana and without a hat, his feet encased in home-made moccasins . . . ." (Saunders, 1912, p. 60).

The Sia have gradually abandoned more and more of their old style costume and have substituted clothing purchased from stores; at the conclusion of the present study the costume of the Sia was hardly distinguishable from that of their Spanish and Anglo-American neighbors, except that headbands, rather than hats, were generally worn by the men. Sia has not required the wearing of moccasins, for either men or women, as Santo Domingo has done. Cowboy boots are worn, especially by younger men, to a greater extent than at nearby pueblos.

The eldest men either have long hair, which is done up in a "club," tied with a narrow woven belt, or they have a short bob, reaching to the nape of the neck. Younger men may have long hair, also, but tend either to wear a long bob or to have it cut short in American style. The youngest men and boys generally have short hair. Older women have long hair; younger women tend to have bobbed heads.

## SMOKING

Almost all adult male Sia smoke cigarettes; pipes and cigars are not used. Sia women do not smoke, with the possible exception of a very few who had learned how in residence away from the pueblo in the early 1950's. No one chews tobacco.

## DRINKING

The Sia have had a reputation of being great drinkers (White, 1942 a, p. 69). Drunkenness is, however, much deplored generally by the people and also officially by the pueblo. Until August 1953, an Indian could not legally purchase alcoholic beverages in New Mexico, but they were easily obtainable from bootleggers. Since 1953, when purchase by Indians was legalized, the pueblo authorities have prohibited the bringing of liquor into the village, but they have not been successful in keeping it out. Drunkenness is most common at fiesta times. Occasionally even a dancer in a ceremony may be under the influence of liquor; Lange (1952, p. 24) noted an intoxicated man among the dancers in the ceremony for the patron saint, and described what was done to him for this offense; I, too, have seen intoxication among saint's day dancers upon a few occasions. Sweet wine seems to be the favorite alcoholic beverage, but some prefer whisky; beer, also, is drunk. Drinking is confined almost entirely to males, and younger men tend to drink more than older ones.

## DRUGS

Peyote has never taken hold in Sia, and no one there uses it, although they know about its use in Taos and elsewhere.

## PETS; FLOWERS

The Sia have many dogs. Most of them are nondescript mongrels, but there were a number of emaciated whippets, or greyhounds, during the 1940's and 1950's. There are virtually no cats in Sia. No caged birds are kept as pets; eagles are occasionally captured and kept in cages for their feathers. There has been no parrot in Sia for many years, although there used to be one. The Sia do not keep potted plants in their houses, as many of their Mexican neighbors do, nor raise flowers or other ornamental plants in gardens.

## THE PUEBLO ITSELF

The village is built upon a knoll about 250 feet above the Jemez River and is reached by a steep climb from the river (pl. 2). The knoll is covered with a profusion of basaltic, or scoriaceous, boulders ranging in size from a few inches in diameter to 3 feet or more. These boulders and stones of other material have been much used in the past in the construction of houses, and ruins of former houses are to be seen on almost every hand (see Stevenson, 1894, pl. i). The longer axis of the pueblo runs approximately north and south (fig. 8). Most of the houses are grouped around two plazas. In recent years there has been a tendency to build dwellings east of the church, and also down the hill toward the schoolhouse.

## HOUSES

The construction and design of houses at Sia are much like those of other pueblos in the region, except that stone and basaltic boulders, rather than adobe bricks, are used to a greater extent in Sia than elsewhere. In 1881, according to Bourke, only one house was two stories high (Bloom, 1938, p. 223). In 1923, all houses were of one story (Halseth, 1924 b, p. 67) as they are today. Bourke found that windows were of selenite "in every house except one or two of the newest" (Bloom, 1938, p. 222). In 1957, virtually all houses were equipped with windows and doors purchased from the white man's stores, and many were supplied with screens.

The typical house has three rooms. The general living room often contains beds. In some households meals are eaten in this room; in others they are eaten in another room where they are cooked. Sometimes there is a room, usually a smaller one, that is used almost exclusively for storage. Most houses in 1957 were furnished, in greater or lesser amounts, with furniture and other equipment acquired from the white man's stores. Most dwellings have a cookstove, but use old-style fireplaces for heating. Trunks are widely used for storage, but they have been supplemented by modern furniture in some instances. Walls, especially of the living room, are decorated

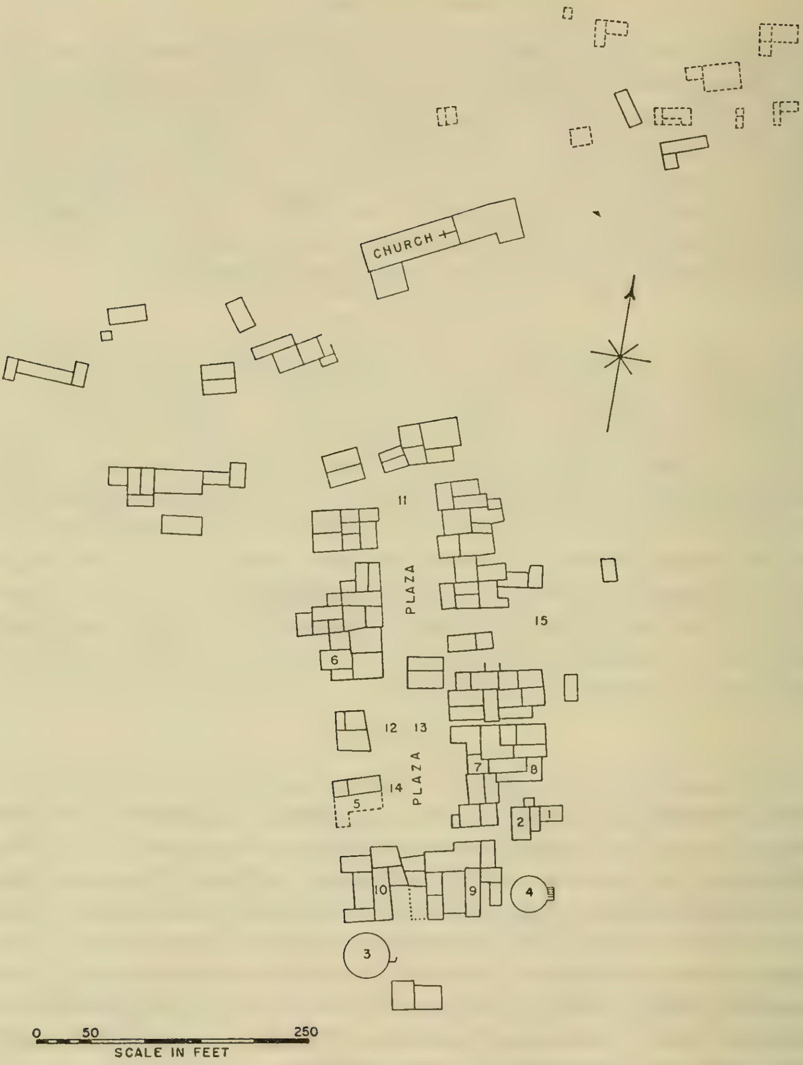

Figure 8.—Diagram of Sia Pueblo (courtesy of Stanley Stubbs and the University o Oklahoma Press), drawn from an aerial photograph; the broken lines represent houses built since the photograph was taken. 1, Hotcanitsa. 2, Juan Shije's (the cacique's) house. 3, Wren kiva. 4, Turpuoise kiva. 5, Caiyeik society's house. 6, House of Snake and Kapina societies. 7, Fire society's house. 8, House of Flint and Kwiraina societies. 9, House of the Katsina, Gomaiyawic, and Hoaina. 10, House of Koshairi and Giant societies. 11, Large stone; home of Gacitiwa. 12, Stone; home of Mountain Lion. 13, Stone; home of War Gods. 14, Large wooden cross. 15, Underground chamber. (See pl. 2.)

with pictures, both religious (Catholic) and secular, and with snapshots of relatives and friends. Occasionally drums, bows, and items of ceremonial paraphernalia hang upon the walls or are suspended from ceiling beams. The earthen floors are commonly covered with linoleum.

### PLAZAS

The village has two plazas, commonly referred to as north and south plazas. In the north plaza there is a large stone (fig. 8). This is the home of Gacítiwa, a supernatural being. In the south plaza there is a wooden cross. It was there in Bourke's day (1881; see Bloom, ed., 1938); Stevenson, however, does not mention it. It appears in many old photographs. This cross marks the spot and commemorates the occasion of the first baptism of pueblo Indians into the Christian faith, according to one informant. There are two stones in the south plaza. The western one (No. 12 in fig. 8) is called mokaitc, mountain lion; it represents all the animals of the six directions; they protect the pueblo against disease. The other stone, No. 13, is called aiwa·na. It stands for the twin war gods, Masewi and Oyoyewi, and their eight helpers. They protect the village against witches and disease.

### CHURCH

On the northern edge of the village is the Roman Catholic church, in front of which is an enclosed area where the dead are buried. I shall return to this subject later under "Christianity."

### HOTCANITSA

A small block of rooms, set apart from others, contains the hotcanitsa and the residence of the cacique (during the 1950's, at least). The hotcanitsa is, so to speak, the domicile of the government of Sia. It is the place where official meetings of officers and priests are held. It is under the jurisdiction of the cacique, but the war captains or the governor may hold meetings there, also. The hotcanitsa is plastered and kept in repair, and is supplied with fuel, by the people of the village under the direction of Masewi, the principal war captain. Corn, grown in a community field, is stored in one of the rooms of the hotcanitsa (fig. 9). Deer and rabbit meat is dried and stored there, also, for communal, ritual use. One room is sealed off, the secret door being concealed by plaster. It is a certainty that the cacique has considerable ceremonial paraphernalia, and, no doubt, it is stored here when not in use.

The residence of Juan Shije, who has been the cacique since about 1917, adjoins the hotcanitsa. It was built in 1941 by the people of the village under the direction of Masewi. Whether this house is regarded as belonging to the pueblo, and is occupied by Shije because he is the cacique, or whether it is felt that this is *his* house, is not clear.

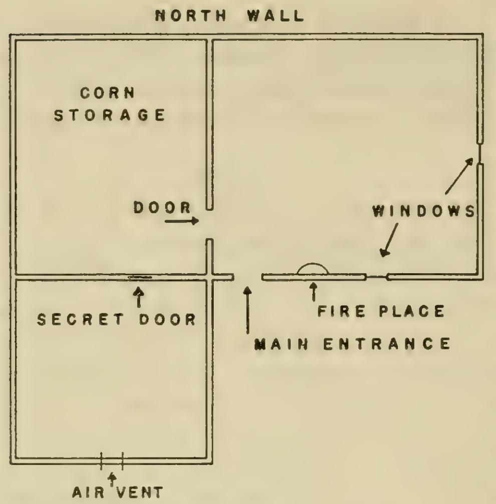

Figure 9.—Diagram of hotcanitsa.

## KIVAS

In 1957, Sia had two circular kivas, built aboveground, and set wholly apart from other structures (see pl. 3, *a*). They are constructed, as are houses, of basaltic boulders laid in mud, with walls smoothly plastered both inside and out. The entrance is in the roof: one ascends by a flight of stairs to the roof and then descends a ladder into the kiva. The eastern kiva is called Turquoise; the western one, Wren (Cuti).

Sia has a remarkable and unusual history with respect to kivas. All other Keresan pueblos of the Rio Grande region have had circular kivas for decades, and, so far as we know, they have never had any other kind since the days of Coronado. Sia, however, has had rectangular, or square, kivas.

Our earliest account, and by far the best description of Sia kivas that we have, was provided by Bourke, who inspected them in 1881 (Bloom, ed., 1938, pp. 228, 225):

> There are two Estufas in Zia. The new one, built of basalt, laid in mud, plastered within and without and washed a faint yellow on the inside, is overground, square, 12½ paces on a side, 10 ft. high, and entered by a ladder to the roof and then to the interior by another, of 9 or 10 rungs 12″ or 15″ apart. There is no "altar" (hearth), but a regular fire-place. There are two small holes, each one ft. square, for light and ventilation; a hole for Omaha [Omawuh, a Hopi term meaning rain-cloud; Bourke is here equating Keresan belief and practice with those of the Hopi, L. A. W.].
>
> The "old" Estufa is precisely the same as the new, without having plaster on the walls and without there being a hole for Omaha.
>
> [We] descended the 1st Estufa; rectangular 33′ x 20′ overground, 10′ high: walls, brown-washed, covered with figures; of sun, moon, morningstar, evening

> star, buffalo, pumpkin, corn, deer, horse, thunder, clouds, lightning, snakes and sea-serpents.
>
> The second Estufa had pictures in large size and, like those in first, extremely well done, of turkeys, two eagles fighting, hares, morning star, moon, dipper of seven stars.

For some curious reason, neither James nor Matilda Stevenson tells us anything about kivas at Sia. In 1917, Reagan (1917, pp. 70–71) reported that

> the Sia have but one *estufa* [kiva], a no-account building on the point of the mesa southwest of the main village. The first time the writer visited it, it had its walls painted in representative drawings of their deities, but on his next visit, its walls were whitewashed and plain. It is the writer's opinion that the Sia Pueblos whitewashed their drawings to prevent him from seeing them.

Reagan went to Jemez about 1900 and lived there for many years·

According to a good informant, there was only one kiva in use in Sia in 1914, namely, the Wren; it was rectangular. At that time, the Turquoise kiva had no roof, but much of its walls was standing. In 1917 or 1918, the Turquoise kiva was rebuilt and made circular. The Wren kiva was rebuilt and made round in 1942 or 1943. In 1946 or 1947, the Wren kiva was burned just before the dance in honor of the patron saint on August 15. Some say that it was done maliciously by one of two factions within the pueblo (Stubbs, 1950, p. 79); others say that a neurotic young man—one who had once been committed to a mental hospital—did it. On the basis of my knowledge of Sia in general and also upon specific data on this point from informants, I incline toward the latter view. The Wren kiva was rebuilt within a few years. There is an aerial photograph of Sia, the author and date of which are unknown, which shows one rectangular kiva.

Why Sia had square, or rectangular, kivas until recently whereas all other eastern Keresan pueblos have had circular structures, for the last century at least, is a puzzling question for which we have no satisfactory answer. Rectangular kivas, both subterranean and aboveground, have been found in a goodly number of prehistoric sites in the Rio Grande region (Wendorf and Reed, 1955, pp. 141, 152, 157). "No data [on kiva structure] is available from the time prior to the Pueblo Revolt in the Keres area," according to Wendorf and Reed (ibid. p. 157). "Following the Reconquest, rectangular kivas appeared at Jemez and in the Tewa villages" (ibid., p. 157). In recent decades, Jemez has had two rectangular kivas, but they are not separate and apart from dwellings (Parsons, 1925, p. 13).

Wendorf and Reed apparently believe that rectangular kivas are a Western Pueblo trait. Speaking of the rectangular kivas at Jemez and among the Tewa they say: "Satisfactory explanations of these changes have not been offered, but it is not unlikely that, in part, they resulted from contacts with Western Pueblo groups during and after the Pueblo Revolt" (1955, p. 157). It is significant, in this connection, to note that the Hopi and Zuñi kivas are rectangular, as are those of the western Keresan pueblo of Acoma. Perhaps the significance of rectangular kivas at Sia in recent times will some day be determined.

My informants had no explanation to offer for the change to circular kivas except to observe that this shape will accommodate more people and is better adapted to round dances, but this sounds much like a rationalization after the fact. The Sia were of course familiar with circular kivas for decades before the change was made.

The War chiefs have charge of the kivas (one informant in 1957 said that the sicti nawai "is in direct charge"; see "Kiva Groups"). Upon orders from Masewi the gowatcanyi keep the kivas clean and women plaster and whitewash them, inside and out, as required. Before a kiva is used in connection with a ceremony a fire must be built in the fireplace; in the summertime only a small fire would be made and then allowed to go out. "The fire and smoke are to call the spirits to come to the kiva and take part in the ceremony." Men may enter kivas with prayersticks or to offer prayers with petana (meal), but they should leave as soon as they are finished; women may enter with food for the spirits (which they leave for the birds). No one is allowed in the kivas around midnight because the maiyanyi (spirits) are in there at that time. "If you went in then they might take your life or scare you to death." The people of Sia are divided into two groups; one belongs to Wren kiva, the other, to Turquoise. Kivas are used on a number of ceremonial occasions.

There is a fireplace in the kiva, but we have no details as to its construction or location. Inside walls are painted much as they were in Bourke's day, and as they have been at Jemez: Simpson's party visited Jemez in 1849 and copied, in color, many of their kiva paintings (Simpson, 1850, pp. 63–64 and pls.; see, also, Parsons, 1925, pl. 3). A photograph of a Sia kiva painting is reproduced in plate 2, *b*. It was not taken by me, nor did I obtain it from an Indian friend or informant. I did, however, obtain it from sources which leave its authenticity unquestionable.

## CEREMONIAL HOUSES

Each of the several groups of medicinemen (tcaiyanyi) has a ceremonial house where its paraphernalia are stored and where its ceremonies are held. In some instances two societies share the same house; in one case, three groups are housed together. Figure 8 represents the situation in the 1950's. It is essentially like a diagram made for me by an informant in 1928 except for the location of the Koshairi-Giant house. My earlier diagram was much less accurate than the one presented in figure 8, however, since the former was drawn from visual imagery by an informant, whereas the latter is based upon an aerial photograph.

## SECRET UNDERGROUND CHAMBER

On the east edge of the village there is an underground chamber: No. 15 in figure 8. Its existence is carefully concealed from outsiders and is said to be a secret to many of the Sia themselves. The roof of this chamber is a sacred spot called íwas (children) kowawa'atsεcromi (a region or place sacred to a certain group or society is called by this term): the significance of this designation was not ascertainable. Children are not permitted to play on, or even to walk across, this spot; they are frightened by being told that their feet will become small and round, "like a dog's," if they walk upon it. Even adults are "not supposed to walk on it." Two posts have been placed near it so that wagons cannot pass over it. A stone about 18 inches in diameter lies in the area; it is said to conceal the entrance to the chamber.

Only the head of the Flint society, accompanied by one or two members of this group, has the right to enter this chamber; even the tiamunyi (cacique) is not allowed to go in. Flint nawai (head) and one or two of his aides enter this chamber periodically in the dead of night, but what they do there, and what the chamber contains, could not be ascertained: "no one but those tcaiyanyi knows." One informant opined that the four little cannon, given to the Sia by a captain of Coronado's party (see p. 20), are kept there.

Periodically the War captains, assisted by their helpers (gowatcanyi), go about the pueblo in the evening. They have a drum. At the door of each house they sing and dance. People give them food, pottery, arrows, and other gifts. The War captains take them to the rock that covers the entrance to the underground chamber. They give small portions of the gifts to the sacred rock; the rest they deposit in a pile nearby. After a simple ritual and prayers, the War captain invites the people of the village to join them around the sacred spot. Then they tell the people to help themselves to anything they want in the pile of presents. This they do with alacrity, and the whole affair is ended. The significance of this ceremony, and of the chamber, could not be ascertained from informants, who, while stressing the importance and the sacred character of both, professed to be unable to give more than the most meager information concerning them.

## REFUSE PILES

There are four refuse dumps on the edges of the village, one on the west side, three on the east. They are called itsa·tyun (beads) komictca (ashes); they do not have individual names. They have been consecrated by a medicine society as a proper and safe place to throw refuse.

## CORRALS

On the east side of the pueblo, down the hill from the dwellings, are numerous corrals where horses, cattle, and sheep are kept on occasion. There are a few semienclosures with roofs upon which hay is piled for winter feeding. There are a few small pens for pigs and turkeys.

## WATER SUPPLY

The water problem is always one of major concern among the pueblos, but it has been especially critical at Sia. They have long suffered for want of decent drinking water. "The Rio Salado [Salt River]," wrote M.C. Stevenson (1894, p. 10), "empties into the Jemez some 4 miles above Sia and so impregnates the waters . . . with salt that while it is at all times most unpalatable, in the summer season when the river is drained above, the water becomes undrinkable, and yet it is this or nothing with the Sia." An Indian agent cites the water needs of Sia in his reports for 1901 and 1902 (Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1901 and 1902) In 1924 Halseth (1924 a, p. 12) reported that "good drinking water is the most difficult question . . . [the well] water is so full of alkali that it has a salty, bitter taste, even when made into strong coffee. The river water is softer, when there is any, and is mostly used by the the Indians . . . ." Sia had only two wells in 1930 (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9929). Two more wells were drilled between 1930 and 1957 to supply the village with water. One of them is located on a hill a mile or more north of the pueblo; it is equipped with an electric pump and the water is piped to the village. The other wells are equipped with windmills. For a number of years one had to go to the wells to get water. Then a few hydrants were placed in the pueblo; more recently water has been piped into many houses. Within a decade or two prior to 1957, six wells were drilled on the range and equipped with windmills to provide water for livestock. The water situation has been enormously improved since Stevenson's day, but it still remains a problem: it was cited as Sia's most urgent problem by a representative of the Pueblo council at a conference with Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons in Denver on August 1, 1956.

## STORES

As the Rio Grande pueblos become more and more acculturated, stores tend to make their appearance in them. Cochiti and Santo Domingo, for example, had stores in the 1950's. They were owned and operated by Indians of their respective pueblos. Sia has had three such stores. The first was operated, probably during the early 1920's, by Juan Bautista Medina, named James by Matilda Stevenson, who witnessed his birth and became his godmother (M. C. Stevenson, 1894, pp. 132–143). This may have been the "small store in the pueblo" noted by Halseth in 1923 (1924 a, p. 12) "where matches, flour, and a few other staples, can be obtained." It proved to be an unprofitable venture and was abandoned. Augustin Moquino operated a store for a short time during the 1930's. Remijio Salas opened a store about 1948 and operated it for about 2 years before it, too, failed.

A merchandizing institution, such as a store where commodities are sold with a view to private profit, is of course antithetical to the economic organization of a tribal society organized upon the basis of mutual aid and kinship ties (White, 1959, pp. 237–260). The appearance of stores within a pueblo is therefore an indication of the breakdown of the aboriginal socioeconomic system. But there are two other factors also which are relevant, namely, size of pueblo population and accessibility to non-Indian merchants outside the pueblo. If the population of the pueblo is very small, a storekeeper would be obliged either to sell to close relatives, which would be in conflict with customary obligations of kinship, or exclude them from his prospective customers, which would reduce an already small market still further. Other things being equal, the smaller the pueblo the more difficult it would be for a member of a pueblo to become a merchant within the community; and, below a certain size, a profitable store would be impossible. With regard to accessibility of members of the pueblo to non-Indian merchants outside the community, the greater the accessibility the greater the difficulty of native merchandising within the pueblo, other factors being equal.

Sia has been a very small community for decades and has therefore offered a correspondingly meager market, too diminutive, it would seem, to encourage or permit an Indian operated store within the pueblo. Fifty years ago the Sias had relatively easy access to non-Indian merchants at San Ysidro, only 4 or 5 miles away. Improved roads and automobiles have made Bernalillo and even Albuquerque increasingly accessible, which also militates against merchandising within the pueblo. It is not surprising, therefore, that Indian merchants have repeatedly failed in Sia. And, at the present time, 1957, the situation is not favorable. However should the population continue to increase—and, of course, acculturation and breakdown of old institutions are always in progress—a successful store might be established in Sia in the future.

## POTTERY

The Sia have long enjoyed a reputation for excellence in pottery making. Bandelier (1892, p. 300) characterized their pottery as "quite elaborately decorated and handsome, much superior to that of Cochiti and San Felipe." In Stevenson's day Santa Ana and Jemez used to obtain their ceramic wares from Sia rather than make them themselves (Stevenson, 1894, pp. 11–12; Chapman, 1936, vol. 2, p. 6; 1938, p. 9). The slip "is white, but through use, it wears thin and becomes translucent, so that the reddish body clay imparts an ever deepening flesh tone to the surface. To the traditional geometric designs of the early post-Spanish period have been added a profusion of plant and bird motifs, so that the range of Tsia decoration is wonderfully varied" (Chapman, 1936, v. 2, p. 6). Designs are painted on the white slip in black and henna, or buff, colors: these are the terms used by Maerz and Paul (1950) for shades 12-I, J, and K in plate 6, and for 9, 10, 11-C, and 10-D on plate 13, which match the colors used on Sia pottery. The Sia make their black paint from a mineral rather than from the Rocky Mountain Bee plant which is used for this purpose in so many pueblos. This mineral, collected by a Sia informant and myself a few miles northwest of the pueblo, was identified as "a mixture of pyrolusite ($MnO_2$), limonite ($Fe_2O_3 \cdot nH_2O$), and psilomelane ($MnO_2$, $BaO$, $H_2O$)" (see White, 1948, p. 370, for fuller discussion of this subject; see, also, Shepard, 1956, pp. 40–42, for data on use of manganese and iron-manganese paints in pottery decoration). The potter's wheel is not used.

Apparatus for firing is crude. I once saw one of the better potters at Sia place her wares on the heavy wire springs skeleton of an automobile cushion, then cover them with slabs of sheep manure dug from a corral, and proceed with the firing. Shepard (1956, pp. 83–85) has described the firing process at Sia. She recorded a maximum temperature of 940° C., which was considerably higher than those noted by her at San Ildefonso and Cochiti.

The closest resemblances to Sia pottery are to be found in former Santa Ana wares and at Acoma (K. M. Chapman, personal communication; see White, 1942 a, p. 48, for fuller statement). James Stevenson (1883, pp. 454–455) made a collection of pottery at Sia in 1880 which was deposited in the U.S. National Museum. Matilda Stevenson has fine illustrations of ceremonial bowls in "The Sia" (1894, pls. 16 and 35, in color; pl. 4 in black and white). Photographs of Sia ceramic wares may be found also in Chapman (1936, vol. 2, pls. 51–59, in color; 1938, p. 9). Mera discusses Sia pottery in "The Rain Bird" (1937, pp. 9–10, pls. 29–34); he describes the Puname

Polychrome of Sia in "Style Trends of Pueblo Pottery" (1939, p. 18, pls. 39–46 in color).

Stevenson (1894, pp. 11–12) states that the Sia depended greatly upon pottery manufacture to obtain food and other necessities during the 1880's, and many families have done likewise in recent decades. In 1936 the Pueblos Agency reported that 30 potters at Sia produced 3,100 pieces valued at $1,085, of which $1,050 worth was sold. Almost all the pottery made in Sia during the early 1950's, which was rather considerable, was produced for sale or barter.

### SILVERSMITHING

The Sias have done no silverwork at all so far as we know. A Hopi silversmith, Pierce Kanateywa, married a Sia woman and came to live in Sia; he died in 1954. He practiced his craft there, but no one else has taken it up. The Sia do not make necklaces or earrings for sale as do Santo Domingo, for example.

### BUCKSKIN

The Sia are fine hunters and take many deer yearly. They make excellent buckskin, and they make it very white. It is used principally for the manufacture of men's moccasins.

### WEAVING

The weaving of textiles for clothing was unquestionably practiced in the past, but we have no data, documentary or otherwise, on this subject. Weaving of baskets may have been practiced, also. Indian baskets were in use in the pueblo during the course of this study, but they appear to have been acquired by gift or exchange, from the Jicarilla Apache, for the most part.

### SCHOOLS

Free public schools have long been one of the most important and cherished of American institutions. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempting to establish schools within the pueblos of New Mexico as soon as feasible after the acquisition of the territory in 1848. But by 1871 no school had been established in Sia apparently, for the Indian Agent in that year reported that he had arranged to send some Sia children to the day school at Jemez (Rep. Comm. Indian Aff. for 1871, p. 388).

The first school was opened in Sia about 1885, in a room in a dwelling rented by the Federal Government for this purpose. There were some 15 pupils in attendance. A schoolhouse was built about 1915. It was destroyed by fire about 1927. The present (1957) schoolhouse and living quarters for teachers were completed about 1929, according to manuscript records in the United Pueblos Agency consulted in 1957.

Stevenson does not mention a school in Sia during her stay there. A Federal Government survey of 1890 lists schools in New Mexico "supported in whole or in part by the government, at which were pueblo children" (Poore, 1894, p. 421). But this list does not include a school at Sia, nor does it list any Sia children in attendance. There were two day schools in Jemez at that time.

Fairly regular attendance at the day school in Sia began about 1893, judging from reports of Indian agents, but it was erratic and interrupted from time to time. Thus, Halseth (1924 b, p. 68) reported that in 1923–24 there was "a government schoolhouse at the pueblo but for the past several years there has been no teacher in attendance." Attendance at the Sia day school fluctuated from 27 in 1893 to 25 in 1910. One of the highest estimates was 36 for 1899; one of the lowest was 13 for 1919. In 1930 the attendance was only 26 for the day school (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9883). But by 1950–51 it had risen to 51, and it was approximately that figure by the close of my survey in 1957.

Sia, like other New Mexico pueblos, has sent some children to boarding schools: to Federal Government Indian schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe and to Catholic schools in Bernalillo and Santa Fe, but principally to the Government schools. Eight children from Sia attended the Albuquerque Indian school in 1887 (McKinney, 1945, p. 121). The Indian Agent reported in 1901 that "Sia and Santo Domingo pueblos placed a class of boys in the boarding school, the first that has been sent for at least ten years to any school" (Rep. Comm. Indian Aff. for 1901, p. 551). Sixteen Sia children were in schools in Santa Fe and Bernalillo in 1923–24 (Halseth, 1924 b, p. 68). In 1930, 7 Sias were in the Albuquerque Indian School; 19 were in the Indian School in Santa Fe (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9883). In 1956–57, 35 Sias attended Government Indian boarding schools; 4 attended mission and private boarding schools (Records of the United Pueblos Agency, 1957).

The day school at Sia in the early days was much like the pueblo in general: poor and wretched. In 1898 the Indian agent reported that the "school is conducted in a building rented from an Indian. It is in a most lamentable condition, without any ventilation whatever; narrow dirt floor, poor light, and altogether it is not fit for a stable . . . . The attendance, however, is the best of any of the schools, every child except one being in school" (Rep. Comm. Indian Aff., 1898, p. 208). In 1905, however, the Indian Agent reported that "there is a very good day school here [Sia]." He also stated that a noonday lunch had been instituted the previous year and that it had "improved the attendance and health of the children, as heretofore it was often the case that children went to school hungry, having little to eat at home" (Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1905, p. 275). It is not known how long the practice of serving a noonday meal was continued, but school authorities at the United Pueblos Agency stated in 1957 that it had been instituted not many years previous to that time, and they apparently believed that it was an innovation at that time.

No Sia has ever attended the great Indian schools, Carlisle and Haskell, as far as we could ascertain, although some children from other New Mexico pueblos have done so. No Sia has ever attended a college or university, with the exception of two or three ex-service men who went to the New Mexico Agricultural and Mechanical College at Las Cruces at Federal Government expense, for a time after World War II.

It is extremely difficult to try to assess the significance of American schooling in the life of Sia. We may be quite sure that the children did not learn much during the first few decades the day school was in operation. We know that many of them did not acquire an enduring command of simple and meager English. The status of a lone white woman teacher in, or on the outskirts of, the pueblo was not such as to inculcate in the children a desire for book learning or an inclination to acquire American ways. In recent decades the day school has unquestionably been more influential. The school is larger and offers more varied and more effective instruction: in recent years, for example, moving pictures are shown occasionally in the schoolhouse in the evening and the entire pueblo is invited to attend. Also, times have changed and the attitude toward American culture is not what it once was. Sia is much less isolated than formerly and it is obvious to all that American culture is something that has to be reckoned with whether they like it or not. And many Sias realize that a good command of English and some acquaintance with American culture is an asset in dealing with the outside world.

The boarding schools, both Government and church, but especially the former, have been much more influential, I believe, in bringing about culture change in Sia than has the local day school, and for decades a goodly number of Sias have attended boarding schools. The boarding school removes the child from his home for months at a time, away from the influence of his family and the community with its rituals and ceremonies. It obliges the child to learn English, for he must have this language to communicate with his fellow pupils of other linguistic stocks. It throws him into close association with children from other pueblos and even with non-pueblo Indians. Some marriages eventuate from these associations. Children at the boarding schools have occasional opportunity to explore the novelties of urban culture in Albuquerque and Santa Fe and to learn considerable about it. Some of the older girls obtain summer employment as domestics in white American households, and some of the older boys get odd jobs in the city. Acculturation in such instances is inevitable and is accelerated. Extracurricular experiences of this sort have done much to pave the way for employment outside the pueblo today (1957), which is growing and is coming to be the most important single factor in culture change.

Some pueblo girls learn a great deal in domestic science courses in Government boarding schools: about new materials, nutrition, new techniques of food preservation, sanitation and hygiene, which they take back to their homes and put into practice. I believe that this instruction is as influential in bringing about culture change as is the academic learning, if not more so. Some instruction in the industrial arts is offered the boys in boarding schools, but it appears to be much less adaptable to pueblo life than the learning acquired by the girls.

Some word should be said about the teachers at the Sia day school since it opened in 1885. Most, if not all, of them have been white Anglo-American women. None, so far as I know, was accompanied by a husband in the pueblo, although some had been married. I have known many teachers in pueblo Indian day schools in Arizona and New Mexico since 1926. Some have had but little education, have been exceedingly ethnocentric, incapable of comprehending or appreciating differences of culture, and have looked down upon the Indian. But others have had sympathy and understanding and have devoted themselves with zeal and self-sacrifice to the welfare, not only of the children in their charge, but of the community as a whole. Miss Caroline E. Hosmer was one of these.

Miss Hosmer went to Sia in September, 1893, and taught there in the day school for several years. In 1897 an eye disease broke out in the pueblo and reached epidemic proportions. The affected eye had "the appearance of having bursted and lost a portion of the fluid, others, again, being left with what seems an excrescence or fungus growth attached to the pupil. . . . nearly every case attacked being left with impaired vision, some with none, and very many losing the sight of one eye entirely. . . ." (Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1897, p. 200.) (An ophthalmologist, to whom I applied for elucidation, suggested that this disease may have been either a severe staphylococcus infection or a severe dendritic keratitis with secondary infection such as staphylococcus, streptococcus, or something else. Severe malnutrition, especially a vitamin A deficiency, may have been a contributory cause, he said).

Throughout this epidemic, the Agent goes on to relate, "Miss Hosmer, herself so badly afflicted as to be totally blind for a few days, was physician, nurse, adviser, friend. The almoner of the

Government, through whom provisions and medicines were distributed, she devoted herself to the welfare of these people with a single-mindedness and an utter disregard of self rarely equaled, never surpassed. I am happy to state that she has almost entirely recovered the use of her eyes. . . ." (ibid.).

And there have been others like her. The teacher at Sia in 1903–4 had been there for several years. "She is not only a teacher," the Indian Agent reported, "but sort of an adviser for the pueblo . . . helpful in many ways to these poor Indians" (Rep. Comm. Indian Aff. for 1903, p. 221, and for 1904, p. 262). It is impossible to gage the influence of women like this upon the course of culture change, but we may well believe that it has been appreciable. Many teachers are remembered in the pueblo with affection and respect.

## CHRISTIANITY AT SIA

From the very beginning the invading Spaniards attempted to instruct the Pueblo Indians in Christianity and to convert them to this faith. Their efforts became both intensive and comprehensive after the period of colonization began at the end of the 16th century. The missionaries among the pueblos of the Rio Grande and Rio Jemez valleys were of the Franciscan order.

The early missionaries, and indeed the Spaniards in general, proceeded upon the principle that in order to convert the Indians to Christianity it was necessary to extirpate the native religions. Harsh and repressive measures were adopted to this end. Dances and ceremonies were prohibited, masks and other ceremonial paraphernalia were burned from time to time (White, 1934; Bandelier, 1890, p. 151, n. 2), priests and medicinemen were flogged or put to death, while at the same time missions and convents were being established within the pueblo communities. The Spaniards obliged the Indians to become church officers and assistants to the missionaries, and people were required to attend services under penalty of flogging: whips may still be seen in some of the missions today (I have seen this kind of whip at Santa Ana. See, also, Parsons, 1923 b, p, 179; Scholes, 1937, p. 144; Rep. Comm. Indian Aff. for 1858, pp. 200–201, quoting the Rev. Samuel Gorman). And, of course, the records of the great Revolt of 1680 bring out clearly the bitter conflict between the Indians and the Catholic church.

As we have already seen, a missionary was assigned to Sia by De Vargas in 1598. A church and convent had been built by 1613 (Scholes and Bloom, 1944, p. 334). At the outset the missionary at Sia had Acoma, Zuñi, and the Hopi villages under his jurisdiction, and later, Santa Ana was a visita of Sia, off and on, for many years: in 1614 (ibid., p. 334); in 1664, according to Zárate-Salmerón (quoted by Scholes, 1929, pp. 48–49); in 1694 (Domínguez, 1956, p. 167), and in 1782 (Bancroft, 1889, pp. 274, 281). Eventually, however, the mission at Sia ceased to have a resident priest and was served by one from Jemez. The date at which a priest ceased to reside in Sia is not known. It seems clear from the account of Bourke (Bloom, 1938), that none was in residence in 1881, and Stevenson (1894, p. 11) states specifically that Sia was served from Jemez in 1890. This practice has, apparently, been continuous since that time.

Lists of missionaries who have served at Sia are given by Scholes and Bloom (1944, p. 334) and by Domínguez (1956, pp. 150, 157, 163–164, 172, 174).

As previously noted (p. 21), Sia was named "Sant Pedro y Sant Pablo" by Oñate in 1598, but on the establishment of the mission early in the 17th century it became known as Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Sia, which has been its name since that time (Hodge, 1933, p. 226).

One informant offered the following legend of how Christianity came to Sia:

> The first Catholic priest to enter the Rio Grande valley went first to Sia. He wanted to convert the people to Christianity. The priests and officers of Sia held many meetings at which they discussed this matter. They finally decided to adopt Catholicism because it was the faith of the children of Naotsityi (one of the supernaturals who figure prominently in the myth of emergence; see "Cosmology," p. 115). All of the Sias became Christians. Then the officers of Sia went to all the neighboring pueblos requesting them to send representatives to Sia to be converted. All the pueblos did so except Sandia, which refused. Thereupon, Sia sent 25 warriors to Sandia to insist that they become converted. The Sandias stubbornly refused, so the Sia warriors killed all the men at Sandia except five or six. Then the Sandias gave in and accepted Christianity.
>
> The Catholic priest Christianized all the pueblos by baptising their representatives in the south plaza at Sia. The cross that stands there now marks the spot where the baptisms took place.

This is, of course, a fanciful tale. It expresses well the conception that each pueblo has of itself: it ranks first in all matters of custom and faith. It is true, as we have already noted, that the Sia sided with the Spaniards after the Revolt of 1680, against the Jemez, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Acoma, and Zuñi pueblos. But in this they were not alone; San Felipe and Santa Ana were their allies, also.

As previously noted (p. 24), the church at Sia was not destroyed in the Revolt of 1680, although it was much damaged. De Vargas ordered its repair and offered tools for this purpose. I would agree with Kubler (1940, p. 92) who observes that "no church ruins have been discovered in the neighborhood of Zia, so it may be assumed that the Zias returned to their pre-Rebellion village, and repaired the church, which is the one visible there today . . ." although Bandelier (1892, p. 196) believed that the present church does not stand on the site, and that it is not a reconstruction, of the prerevolt church. The church has been rebuilt, revised, and repaired several times since 1700. Church, altar, sacristy, and convent, together with their furnishings, were described in some detail and precision by Domínguez (1956, pp. 171–75) in 1776:

> High Altar: Near the middle of the wall hangs a large canvas, old but not torn, . . . representing Our Lady of the Assumption, which the King gave. Above this painting is a small old oil painting . . . of St. Anthony Abbot. At the sides two small old oil paintings on canvas of St. Matthew and St. Bartholomew.

> Above each of these two small . . . paintings on buffalo skin of the Immaculate Conception and Our Father St. Francis. There is a wide adobe gradin and on it stand: A small cedar cross with a copper Christus and Mater Dolorosa; . . . Lacquer Child Jesus . . . A small carved Our Lady of the Assumption . . . A carved St. Anthony of Padua a vara high . . . (p. 172).

"By 1808, the *convento* stood vacant, although the church was still in good condition" (Kubler, 1940, p. 92). Captain Bourke described the church on his visit to Sia in 1881:

> Front of Ruined Church of the Virgin . . . Interior going rapidly to decay. The face of the Blessed Virgin in the main panel of the altar-piece has defied the ravages of time and the elements and still preserves traces of gentle beauty. The side medallions are lambs, but somewhat better than the fearful atrocities to be occasionally found in Pueblo churches. The wooden figure of the Savior on the Cross must have been intended to convey to the minds of the simple natives the idea that our Lord had been butchered by the Apaches. If so, the artist has done his work well. [Bloom, 1938, p. 222.]

The church, its altar, and furnishings have been described more recently by Prince (1915, pp. 175–76), and Halseth (1924 a) has reported upon repairs made upon it in 1923. The mission at Sia has been called "one of the finest examples of Franciscan architecture in the Southwest" (Hewett and Fisher, 1943, p. 126). Several fine photographs of it, both of interior and exterior, may be found in Kubler (1940); others in Halseth (1924 a), Harrington (1916, pl. 21), Hewett and Mauzy (1947, p. 116), and Crane (1928, p. 192). (See pl. 4.)

## THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC PRIEST AT SIA

As we have seen earlier (p. 22), a Catholic priest resided in Sia in the early part of the 17th century, and Santa Ana pueblo was a visita of the mission at Sia. I do not know when Catholic priests ceased to reside at Sia, but none lived there when the Stevensons were in Sia, and none lived there for many years before my study began. During the period of my study, and for many years before that, Sia was served by a Catholic priest from the mission Jemez. One of my informants said that he used to perform Mass at Sia twice a year: on Christmas Eve and on Sia's saint's day, August 15. For a number of years prior to 1957, he performed Mass only on August 15, but came to the pueblo occasionally at other times, and always on All Saints' Day to receive payment for his services: for performing Mass, marrying people, and baptizing babies.

Each family, or household, in Sia is required to pay $1 per year to the priest; the fiscales collect the money. On All Saints' Day, the people bring food—crops from field, garden, and orchard—and other articles of value to the church; this is a freewill offering (and, apparently it is considered to be an offering to the dead as well as a gift, or payment, to the priest). The fiscales turn over the money they have collected, and the gifts, to the priest at this time. The priest comes with a truck to haul the gifts away. He is, however, at liberty to sell any of the gifts to anyone in Sia, thus exchanging property for money.

## ARE THE SIA CHRISTIANS?

I would answer, "No, emphatically not, with possibly a few exceptions." As I have previously noted, the Pueblo Indians opposed Christianity with everything at their command prior to the Revolt of 1680. After the reconquest they were obliged to submit, at least outwardly. They have accepted Catholicism after a fashion; they will tell you that they are Catholics; and they have actually defended Catholicism against the encroachments of evangelical Protestantism, as we shall see shortly. But all this does not mean that they have given up their aboriginal religion and have become Christians. What they have done since the reconquest is: (1) gone underground with their pagan beliefs and ceremonies, and (2) assimilated some elements of Catholicism with the Indian religion.

The Indians of the Rio Grande region, said Stevenson in 1890,

> are in fact as non-Catholic as before the Spanish conquest. . . . [They] have preserved their religion . . . holding their ceremonials in secret, practicing their occult powers to the present time, under the very eye of the church . . . . The Catholic priest marries the betrothed, but they have been previously united according to their ancestral rites. The Romish priest holds mass that the dead may enter heaven, but prayers have already been offered that the soul may be received by Sus-sis-tin-na-ko (their creator) into the lower world. . . . Though professedly Catholic, they wait only the departure of the priest to return to their secret ceremonials. [Stevenson, 1894, pp. 13–15.]

Stevenson (1894, p. 77) observed a cross on the altar of the Snake society during its rain ceremonial. But, she says,

> the cross bears no symbol of Christianity to these Indians . . . [It] was given to a theurgist of the Snake Society in remote times by a priest of so good a heart that, though his religion was not theirs, his prayers traveled fast over the straight road to Kopistaia; and so their reverence for this priest . . . led them to convert the symbol of Christianity into an object of fetichistic worship.

By holding their religious ceremonies in secret the Indians have sought to convince the Catholic clergy and other outsiders that they are no longer practiced. The seclusion and secrecy have by themselves added sanctity and value to the Indian religion. Stevenson (1894, p. 13) was allowed to attend some of the secret ceremonials, and was impressed with the "tenacity with which they cling to their ancient customs . . . [and] their cunning in maintaining perfect seclusion." The Catholic clergy, on their part, know that some of the native religion is still practiced in secret, but, as one priest frankly told me, they make a point of not interfering or even exhibiting curiosity. They have, apparently, come to the conclusion that if they wish to have contact with the Indians they must do so on the latters' terms.

When the Catholic priest comes to Sia, he is treated with courtesy and respect. On the saint's day, August 15, he is invited by one of the Indian officers—the sacristan, fiscale mayor, or perhaps the governor—to his, the officer's, house for the noon meal. There is a booth in the church for confessions, but I am reasonably sure that no Sia ever confesses to the priest. The rite of communion is not performed so far as my data go (see White, 1942 a, p. 60, for Santa Ana). According to Curtis (1926, p. 65), the Catholic priest is guarded by Indians when he goes to Santo Domingo to prevent not only confession but any exchange of confidences.

Offices of the Catholic church in Sia apart from the priest, namely, those of the fiscales, the sacristan and their helpers, are filled by Indians, chosen by Indians. Several religious ceremonies are associated or identified with Spanish Catholic ceremonies, such as Christmas, Easter, All Souls' Day, and the celebration of the day of the pueblo's patron saint; these will be described later, in the section on Ceremonialism. And, as we have just seen, the Sia pay the priest for his services. But, again, this does not mean that the Indians are Catholics; rather, they have assimilated or adapted portions of the Catholic religion to their own (see White, 1942 a, pp. 58–67, where the relationship of Catholicism to the Indian religion is analyzed more fully; virtually everything said about Santa Ana would apply to Sia as well).

I do not wish to assert flatly that the Christian religion has made no headway whatever in Sia. My impression is that people have been somewhat more inclined toward it in recent years than formerly. And I believe this is due to the fact that the Sia are in much closer contact with American culture, that they are obliged to reckon with it, and that they profit from it in many ways, especially economically and medically. It is not so much that the Sia are being converted to a new set of beliefs as that they are moving toward greater tolerance and acceptance of American culture, which carries with it the Christian religion. But Anglo-American culture, as distinguished from Spanish-American, tends to be Protestant rather than Roman Catholic. And the attitude of the Sia (as well as their pueblo neighbors) is distinctly hostile toward Protestantism.

Writing in 1890, Matilda Stevenson observed: "Though Protestant [Presbyterian] missionaries have been stationed at the pueblo of Jemez since 1878, no attempt has been made to bring the Sia within the pale of Protestantism. . . . [The Sia] have nothing of Protestantism among them" (1894, pp. 11, 15). But during the late 1920's or early 1930's some Sia joined an evangelical Protestant sect in Albuquerque. They thereupon repudiated and rejected both their Indian religion and that of the Roman Catholic Church. They tried also to convert others in Sia to their new faith, but in this they had but little success; the overwhelming majority of Sia declined to accept, or vigorously opposed, the new religion. Eventually virtually all the converts—who soon found themselves in the role of heretics—left the pueblo, either by request of the Sia authorities or because their position had been made so difficult that they no longer cared to live there.

## THE SIA HERESY

From time to time during my study of Sia I heard of these heretics from orthodox members of Sia and other pueblos nearby. They were always spoken of as "Holy Rollers" or "Hallelujahs," and almost always derisively. Protestant ministers in Jemez and Bernalillo were included in the category "Holy Roller." The adjective almost always used by the orthodox to characterize Protestant missionaries and their Indian converts was "crazy" (White, 1942 a, p. 67). The religious behavior of the Holy Rollers was usually described as somewhat orgiastic: "They holler and yell and cry."

In 1941 I spent an evening with one of the Sia heretics and his Santo Domingo wife, who were living in Albuquerque at that time. They gave me their story. In 1952 I interviewed Gregorio (George) Herrera, the first of the converts at Sia and the leader of the heresy, at considerable length. He was living in Albuquerque along with other members of the group. This interview was followed by a full discussion of the affair with an orthodox member of Sia, who gave his version of it. Finally, the records of the U.S. District Court in Santa Fe were consulted for an account of the lawsuit brought against the Pueblo of Sia by the heretics. A fairly well-balanced and complete account of the whole episode was thus obtained.

Florence Hawley (1948) has published an account of this heresy also. Her version is substantially like mine except for details, Jennifer Chatfield (1948, p. 78.) wrote a master's thesis on the subject. Her thesis contains copies of letters written by George Herrera to the United Pueblos Agency (presumably), presenting the case of the heretics.

In what follows I shall merely report faithfully what the informants said; I cannot, of course, guarantee the veracity of their statements and cannot be held responsible for errors or distortion.

### HERETICS' VERSION

In the late 1920's there was a woman missionary in Albuquerque named Mrs. Crawford. She had a husband and children; they had come from California. She was preaching a Christian religion and curing the sick. It was reported that she effected some miraculous cures: cripples threw away their crutches, the deaf and dumb spoke, etc. Word of her wondrous cures and her religious doctrines spread. The Sia heard of her and some of them went to Albuqerque to see and hear her. Jose Rey Shije, speaking for a group of Sia, asked her to go to Sia to preach and perform cures.

Mrs. Crawford and F. C., one of her chief assistants, a man who had come from Czechoslovakia, and possibly others, went to Sia. They arrived on the last of the 8 days of dancing and ceremonies at Eastertime. They were met and taken to the house of Jose Rey Shije. A meeting of the council was held to discuss what should be done about her. George Herrera was fiscale teniente at that time. Fiscale mayor asked the council where Mrs. Crawford could preach. No one spoke up. Finally Juan Pedro Herrera asked what the church was for if not to accommodate the clergy. So Mrs. Crawford was permitted to hold a meeting in the Catholic church. The teacher in the pueblo day school was notified and asked to bring the school children to the service. The teacher was a Catholic, so it was said, and later told the priest who came to Sia periodically about the event. The priest became angry and refused to come to Sia for a time. "This is where the trouble started." Some of the Indians from Sia went to Jemez to see the priest and tried to explain the situation to him.

A number of the Sia continued to be interested in Mrs. Crawford and her work. "But they wanted to send someone to Albuquerque to study her and to determine if she really was of God." George Herrera volunteered to go (Hawley, 1948, p. 276, has a different version of how George came into contact with the Holy Rollers). He spent 4 days with them, living with F. C., her chief assistant. He witnessed Mrs. Crawford's miraculous cures and listened to her preaching. He was convinced that she really was of God. He joined and was baptised by F. C.; later, when he affiliated himself with the church of which he was a member in 1952, he was baptised again, this time by immersion.

When George returned to Sia he reported to the people that Mrs. Crawford was genuine and authentic and that her religion was the only true faith. Juan Pedro Herrera, George's father, expressed the opinion that actually both Mrs. Crawford and the Indians of Sia were worshiping the same spirits but in different ways. George stoutly maintained that this was not so, that there was only one true religion, and one could not continue in the Indian tradition if he accepted the gospel as preached by Mrs. Crawford.

On the first night after his return to Sia, George Herrera went to his parents' house to spend the night (he was a widower at that time and had a house of his own). At midnight a rustling wind filled the room, waking him up. Then he heard a voice speaking to him in the Keresan language. It said: "It is not that anymore. Tell all your people to come this way and to do their own [i.e., the new] religion, and give them this and give them that." George identified this experience with a passage in the Bible: "And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting" (The Acts 2: 2).

George was frightened by the voice. He said, "Let my people live the way they have been living for a while." But the voice spoke to him again, repeating what it had said before.

On the second night after his return, George was again wakened at midnight by the rustling of the wind, and again the voice spoke to him, telling him to lead his people to the new religion.

On the third night [before his conversion things went by fours in traditional Indian fashion; afterward, they went by threes], George slept in his own house. This time, after the rustling of the wind, the voice told him: "You are chosen to be a preacher (nyítikoyacó)." He knew then that he must try to convert the Sia to the new faith.

George asked the War captain to call a meeting of all the people so that he could address them and tell them about the new religion. But the War captain assembled only the officers; he told George that they, the officers, could communicate God's message to the people. George addressed the officers, but, as he told me, "this was not enough."

George took his duty as preacher and missionary seriously. He tried various ways to bring the message to the people of Sia. He got a group together in front of the church and preached to them. He invited people to meetings in his house. F. C., Mrs. Crawford's chief assistant, came up a few times and conducted meetings in George's house.

For a time many of the Sia seemed to show a sympathetic interest in the new religion, but after a time almost everyone turned his back upon it; many became quite hostile toward it and its new converts.

San Juanito Moquino was the second Sia to be converted. He went to Albuquerque to be treated for boils. He attended Mrs. Crawford's meetings, but no cure was effected. He returned to Sia for a day, then went back to Albuquerque where he died [in 1937 or 1938, L. A. W.]. His body was brought back to Sia by a group of Holy Rollers, all of whom were Negroes. [Mrs. Crawford and F. C. were Whites, but all the non-Indian members of the congregation to which George Herrera and his group belonged in 1952 were Negroes, as we shall see shortly. I know nothing about Mrs. Crawford's relations, if any, with Negro churches in Albuquerque.—L. A. W.] They buried him, not in the churchyard where all good and faithful Sia are interred, but on a little hill near, but outside, the pueblo.

The converts are indicated in figure 10. All are closely associated with a small matrilineage of the Tobacco clan. Most of them are members of this lineage. Two of them, Juan Pedro Herrera and Benina Shije, married into this lineage; Juan Pedro Herrera was a brother of Benina's mother. Jose Rey Shije, who had invited the Holy Rollers to Sia in the first instance, but who never actually joined, was the son of Juan Pedro Pino, a member of the Tobacco matrilineage. We believe that Juan Pedro Pino did not become a convert; he may have died before Sia became infected with heresy.

The parent-child relationship appears clearly to be more significant than the husband-wife relationship from the standpoint of religious belief. Jose Moquino, a Hopi, married to Juana Rosita Galvan and living in Sia, had died before the conversions began. Reya Gachupin, the wife of San Juanito Moquino, refused to join. So did Jose Cruz Galvan, the husband of Ascenciona Herrera. George's first wife, Carmelita, died in 1923, before his conversion; his second wife, Juanita Simbola, from Picuris, became a convert. It is said that Velino

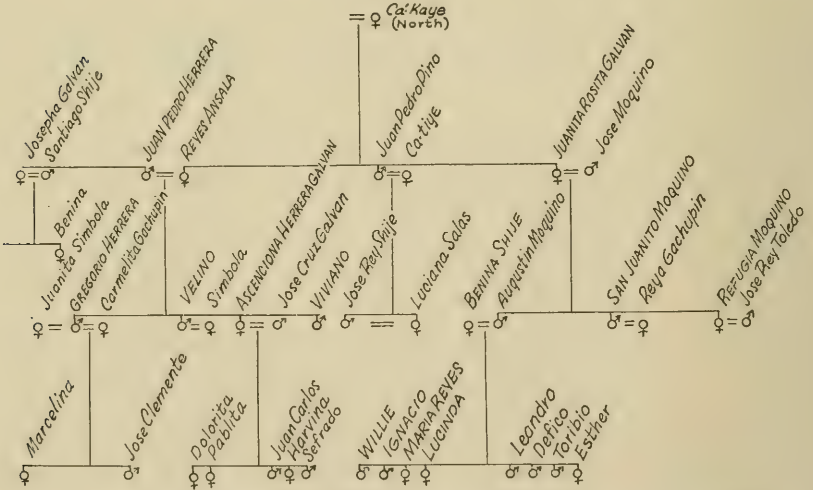
Ca·Kaye (North)
Josepha Galvan
Santiago Shije
JUAN PEDRO HERRERA
REYES ANSALA
Juan Pedro Pino
Ca·tiye
JUANITA ROSITA GALVAN
Jose Moquino
Benina
Juanita Simbola
GREGORIO HERRERA
Carmelita Gachupin
VELINO
Simbola
ASCENCIONA HERRERA GALVAN
Jose Cruz Galvan
VIVIANO
Jose Rey Shije
Luciana Salas
BENINA SHIJE
Augustin Moquino
SAN JUANITO MOQUINO
Reya Gachupin
REFUGIA MOQUINO
Jose Rey Toledo
Marcelina
Jose Clemente
Dolorita
Pablita
Juan Carlos
Harvina
Sefrado
WILLIE
IGNACIO
MARIA REYES
LUCINDA
Leandro
Defico
Toribio
Esther

FIGURE 10.—Tobacco lineage showing Holy Rollers (indicated by capital letters).

Herrera and his wife, a sister of Juanita Simbola, both were converted but that later they "backslid." All of Benina's children were said to belong to the new religion, but they were very young, or as yet unborn, when the conversions began; Willie, the eldest, was still in his teens. Augustin Moquino died suddenly during the period of the conversions; we do not know how he was inclined. His mother, brother, and sister became converts, and his wife, Benina, joined after his death.

The approximate ages of some of the converts in 1930—without regard to the dates of their respective conversions—are as follows: Juan Pedro Herrera, 74; his wife, Reyes, 60; Juana Rosita Galvan (Moquino), 70; San Juanito Moquino, 32; Augustino Moquino, 45; George Herrera, 34; Benina, 35; Willie Moquino, the eldest of Benina's children, 18. An informant who had a copy of Stevenson's "The Sia" identified the women shown in her plate 3 as Reyes Ansala and Juana Rosita Moquino, the latter on the right.

Interesting, too, is the relationship between the position held in the aboriginal religion and conversion. Jose Rey Shije, who first invited Mrs. Crawford to Sia and to whose house she went on her first visit, was a Shima medicineman. San Juanito Moquino and Viviano Herrera were members of the Katsina society. Most remarkable, however, was Juan Pedro Herrera, who, it will be recalled, asked why Mrs. Crawford could not preach in the church, was the head of the Koshairi and a member of the Giant society. On the other hand, Augustin Moquino, who did not join, was not a member of any society.

We do not have precise data on which converts left Sia and which remained. George Herrera and his brothers Velino and Viviano, and Benina and her children, left the pueblo. Refugia Moquino married a Jemez Indian and left Sia. Ascenciona Herrera, wife of Jose Cruz Galvan, wished very much to remain in Sia and has done so with the understanding that she would not obtrude her religion upon others.

Many of the converts have married non-Sia. In addition to Refugia Moquino, mentioned above, George and Velino Herrera married Picuris Indian women. A number of Benina's children have married non-Sia, but all but Willie were probably too young to marry before they left Sia. Willie married first a Santo Domingo woman; later he wed a white woman. Ignacio married a girl from San Juan; Leandro, a Mescalero Apache; Maria Reyes, a Hopi; Lucinda, a Laguna; Toribio, an Acoma. I understand that none of these spouses, with the possible exception of Ignacio's wife, is a member of the new religion. Marcelina, daughter of George Herrera, was married and living in San Juan in 1952.

The heretics tell a plaintive tale of persecution which I heard at length from two sources: Willie Moquino and Rita, his Santo Domingo wife,[5] in 1941, and from George and Viviano Herrera in 1952. After the initial attitude of curiosity, tolerance, and in some cases sympathetic interest, the people of Sia turned against the converts to the new faith. They "said mean things" to them and about them; some people refused to speak to them. Young children were permitted or encouraged to throw rocks at them. Then matters became worse. They were denied water for irrigation, and an attempt was made to refuse them water for drinking and household purposes. George Herrera was told that his cattle could no longer be permitted to graze on pueblo lands. Without water for irrigation and without pasture for herds and flocks life at Sia would, of course, be virtually impossible. "They were trying to drive us out of the pueblo." Rita said that the governor of Sia tried to force Willie Moquino to sell his, and perhaps his mother's, property at Sia in order to get rid of them. Thus, the converts reported that they suffered persecution, indignities, and severe economic loss.

### ORTHODOX VERSION

The orthodox version of the schism, as reported by a mature man who witnessed the whole affair, is as follows: George Herrera was the first to be converted; he was followed by members of two other families, those of Reyes Ansala and Juana Rosita Galvan. George made vigorous efforts to convert others, but no one else would join. This went on for 4 or 5 years. Finally the council called George Herrera and San Juanito Moquino to a meeting "to stand trial." The defendants had Mrs. Crawford's assistant, F. C., come to Sia to be present, but the Council would not admit him "because that was an all-Indian affair."

George told the council that his conversion to the new religion obliged him to give up, wholly and completely, the old Indian religion. This meant that he could no longer take part in dancing, hold office, gather wood for the cacique, repair the church or kivas, or take part in communal hunts. Also, he could have nothing to do with the Catholic church or any of the Indian ceremonies associated with it. He did agree, however, to work on the irrigation ditches and to help maintain pueblo fences.

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[5] She was about 27 years old at that time. She was a handsome woman with bright, shining eyes and an alert manner. She talked readily, incisively, and well; her English was good and she was perfectly fluent and coherent. She spoke with great feeling about the only true religion which she had at last found and about the persecutions which she and the Sia heretics had suffered at the hands of their benighted townsfolk. She said that she was the only Santo Domingo Indian who had been saved. She no longer lived in the pueblo but returned to it occasionally. Once when she was there her brother slapped and abused her, but she merely said "Praise the Lord," which only made him the more furious. Two of her brothers were living in Albuquerque in 1941, but they had not become converts.

The council, on its side, took the position that anyone who lived in the pueblo had to abide by all the rules and customs of the community. All land belonged to the community; individuals merely had rights to use it, but only under certain conditions. The community work required of everyone was to be regarded as a form of taxation, and no one had the right to exempt himself from these obligations.

The converts continued to hold their meetings. "They would holler, cry, and laugh during their meetings." Their preaching and "hollering" at night meetings disturbed nearby residents. Members of the congregation of the heretics' church in Albuquerque, Negroes, used to come to Sia to help hold meetings. A group of them came up when San Juanito Moquino died. "They pretended that they could talk a strange language, but it was just gibberish that they talked."

In 1946 Viviano and Juan Pedro Herrera were brought before the council. Two years later the council called William Brophy, special counsel to the Pueblo Indians, to settle the affair. Antonio Mirabal, a Taos Indian who was at that time a law enforcement officer of the Indian Service, was there, too. In the end, some of the heretics were requested to leave the pueblo; others were permitted to stay. Viviano was not requested to leave, but he was told that he would have to take his cattle off pueblo grazing lands. Some promised to abide by the rules of the pueblo in order to be allowed to remain, "but they did not live up to their promises" [Ascenciona Herrera Galvan appears to have been one exception to this statement at least]. Benina was quite willing to leave and take her children with her.

A suit was filed by the heretics against the Pueblo of Sia on November 25, 1947: "*Viviano Herrera et al.* v. *Pino et al. and Pueblo of Zia,* No. 1297 Civil, U.S. District Court for the District of New Mexico." Perfecto Pino was the governor, Joe Medina the lieutenant governor, of Sia at the time. In a document dated March 15, 1948, the defendants stated that tribal judgment was rendered on March 1, 1939, "by which the plaintiff's membership in the Zia tribe was cancelled together with all his rights therewith." This action was taken because the plaintiffs refused to do community work; the defendants denied that the plaintiffs' joining a Protestant sect had anything to do with their action. The defendant "has no knowledge of the religious affiliations, if any, of the plaintiff," the court records say.

The plaintiff declared that the pueblo did: (1) cancel his membership in the pueblo; (2) refuse to allow his stock water and grazing; (3) direct him to leave his home; and (4) deprive him of his farmlands. The plaintiff averred that the officers of the pueblo gave as their reason for their action the fact that he had become a Protestant and had abandoned the Indian religion. He further declared that he was willing to do "community work," but only of a non-religious nature, whereas, he declared, the pueblo officers construed "community work" to include taking part in dances and ceremonies.[6]

It seems fairly clear that the plaintiffs attempted to have the case tried on the grounds of religious freedom, but this delicate issue was neatly sidestepped by the attorneys for the defense and by the court. Instead, the case was tried on the grounds of economic loss or injury. The defendants maintained that Viviano was not injured financially, that he had "never earned his living in the pueblo," but instead was frequently employed in Albuquerque.

According to my understanding, the court that tried the case had no jurisdiction over suits involving property valued at less than $3,000. The plaintiff argued that the injury was in excess of this amount. The court recognized that more than one issue was involved, that a religious issue was present as well as an economic one. But it ruled that "the plaintiff . . . failed to prove jurisdictional amount of $3,000." The case came up for trial on June 21, 1948. It was dismissed on the following day.

The name of the sect which the Sia heretics joined was "Pentecostal Assembly of the World." Their church was the Bethel Pentecostal Church, located at 1600 North 5th Street in Albuquerque. The congregation consisted almost entirely of Negroes. George Herrera opined that formerly there were many White members but that "they broke away to found a church of their own."

In 1952 George and Viviano Herrera and Benina Shije and her children were attending a church at the corner of North Arno and Grant Streets in Albuquerque. My wife and I attended a Sunday evening service there on September 7, 1952.

The church building was a rather small, one-story structure, poorly built and somewhat dilapidated; it was plastered white. Over the door was a sign: "God's House—Everyone Welcome." The congregation was composed entirely of Negroes except for the tiny handful of Indian converts. We arrived about 7:30, just as a prayer service was being concluded and many people were going outside for a breath of fresh air. We were welcomed in a most cordial and friendly fashion by many members of the congregation.

As we entered the church there were a number of elderly women kneeling in front of the pews praying, each by herself. Some prayed silently; others, aloud. Some were crooning in a beautiful, melodious voice. There was no altar or pulpit in the church. Down front was an elevated stage. On the wall behind the stage was a big black-board. A bass drum and some traps were on the stage, but they were not used during the service.

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[6] Keresan Pueblo Indians think and speak of performing ceremonies as work: "The cacique works for the people" by fasting, praying, and performing rituals.

The church now began to fill up. Females were in the majority and they ranged in age from 3 years to 70 or more. On the stage was a small choir of young men and boys. Three middle-aged men also sat on the stage. The pastor of the church was not present that evening; one of the three men took charge of the meeting, another preached, while the third remained seated.

When the people who had gone outside during intermission had returned, one of the men on the stage stood up and said in a loud voice: "By the Cross . . ." The kneeling women stood up and went to their pews and everyone began to sing "By the Cross . . ." After the song the man in charge made a brief talk and then turned the meeting over to Sister X, a dowdy, middle-aged, light-colored Negress. She announced that they would now receive testimony. People would get up, one after another, and give their testimony. This usually consisted of a stereotyped formula: about how they had been saved, how they had been cured of a severe illness, how a baby had been spared, and how they rejoiced in their salvation—although the testimony was usually uttered in a rapid, perfunctory manner and in a flat colorless voice. Sometimes, however, a person would stand up and begin a song. After the first phrase or so everyone else would join in, keeping time by clapping their hands. At the end of the song, the person who began it would give his or her testimony. A young woman accompanied the songs on the piano, and occasionally a young man on the stage accompanied with a violin.

The testimonials were continued for an hour or more. At the end a collection was taken and the man in charge of the meeting blessed the offering. Then one of the men on the stage arose and began to preach. His sermon was loud, vigorous, gymnastic, and hortatory, but not impassioned. On the contrary, it was marked by wit and good humor. He asked someone in the congregation to read a passage from the Bible. After a phrase or so had been read, he would interrupt and comment upon it. There was humorous response from the choir. The service was concluded by a ritual of anointment: Women from the congregation went forward to the stage where the preacher put ointment from a bottle on their heads while the man in charge of the meeting and an old woman placed their hands upon the recipient's head and prayed. Someone announced that there would be a meeting of "the saints"at Sister Y's house on the following evening, and the services for the evening were over.

There was nothing frenzied or orgiastic about the meeting at all.[7]

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[7] Hawley (1948., p. 277) attended many church services of this sect and reports excited and frenzied behavior on the part of the congregation.

No one became much excited or "went outside himself" or "talked with tongues." Only one person lost control of his feelings: a young woman was overcome by emotion as she testified about the sickness, suffering, and death of her baby; she broke down and wept, but recovered her composure and concluded her testimony in a firm even voice.

The little group of Indians sat together during the service. Benina Shije and two or three of her children were there. So were Viviano Herrera, Rita, the ex-wife of Willie Moquino, and Juanita Simbola, the wife of George Herrera; George himself was not there as he had to work that evening, Benina, a small, handsome woman, in typical, old-style Pueblo costume, her long hair tied in the back with a red woven belt, clapped her little hands in time to the singing, as did the the others. Rita testified in a clear, firm voice. She was followed by Juanita who testified in rather perfunctory fashion. Then Benina stood up and gave her testimony in the Keresan language, after which Rita translated for her. Viviano did not testify. He remained seated throughout the services and appeared to doze from time to time. [Hawley (1948., p. 278) thought she observed "physical manifestations of excitment" in George Herrera at one of these meetings. His knee trembled, his arm jerked, and his head twitched.]

The "Holy Roller" episode at Sia is remarkable. Nothing could be further from the temper and practice of pueblo culture than this excursion into evangelical Protestantism. I will not undertake to "explain" it. It happened, and to say that this sect gave the individual who, in pueblo culture, is submerged in the community and repressed by it a chance to express himself; and to say that stresses and strains were created by the impact of individualistic American culture upon traditional pueblo society may be true and sound; but such statements do not seem to "explain" very much. One of my Sia informants, a wise and thoughtful man, observed, after discussing the heresy: "The Sia people are very hungry for religion all the time. Almost anyone can turn them." I am not sure how these remarks are to be interpreted. It would appear to be an exaggeration to say that "almost anyone can turn them." The impact of the Protestant evangelists was strong, and it provoked great emotional response in Sia. But by and large, the community stood firm by their old ways and traditions. And they ejected the dissenters.

How did these heretics, living in their little colony on the outskirts of Albuquerque in 1952, unnoticed and unloved by the community around them, and trying to find fellowship in a congregation of Negroes who were as alien to them—if not as unfriendly—as the Whites and Mexicans, feel about their conversion and their exile? It would be difficult indeed to answer this question, also, although I talked with them at considerable length. I got these impressions: They felt, or wanted to feel, or insisted that they felt that the religion for which they had forsaken their home and birthplace was the only true faith and that they could not go back on it. Their hardships, persecutions, and loneliness were in the tradition of Christian martyrdom, and as such became both comprehensible and endurable. I could not help but feel, however, that they were desperately lonely, that they felt out of place in the competitive, individualistic, impersonal community of Whites, Mexicans, and Negroes that was Albuquerque, and longed for home, their own, proper home. They had found another people's god and the promise of Heaven in the hereafter, but they had lost their home on this earth, here and now. But they had made their decision, they had left the tiny pueblo in the beautiful valley of the Jemez River that every Sia loves, and there was no road back. Or, was there?

Sia has declared officially, as I understand it, that the dissenters are free to return at any time providing they abandon their heresy and prove that they are willing to live according to the faith and customs of the pueblo. But Sia has also made it clear that it will not tolerate further interference by Protestant evangelists. Some years ago, after the Holy Rollers had left Sia, a Protestant missionary stationed in Bernalillo came to the pueblo several times. He was told by the governor that he was free to visit the pueblo but that he would not be permitted to hold meetings or to proselytize. He declined to abide by these conditions and was consequently barred from the pueblo. In 1957 I interviewed the missionary at the Pilgrim Mission School near Bernalillo and on the road to Sia with regard to his work among the Indians. He told me that Sia was "a closed pueblo" and that he was not permitted to work there.

## PROTESTANTISM AT JEMEZ

Heresy broke out at Jemez, too, and for a time the conflict assumed serious proportions. I do not propose to tell that story here (see U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, pp. 10038–10039, for a statement by the Presbyterian missionary at Jemez who testified that he had a number of converts in Jemez but that the pueblo authorities were intimidating and persecuting them). But the principles and conclusions set forth by a court which tried a suit brought against the pueblo by a group of dissenters are relevant to the situation at Sia and do much to clarify the issues involved and to specify the rights and limitations of the two contending parties.

Six Jemez Indians brought suit against the Pueblo of Jemez: "*Toledo et al.* v. *Pueblo of Jemez et al.* Civ. A. No. 2410. U.S. District Court, D. New Mexico, March 8, 1954." [It will be recalled that one of the Sia heretics, Refugia Moquino, married a Jemez

Indian and went to his pueblo to live. His name was Jose Rey Toledo.] The decision of the court is to be found in Federal Supplement, vol. 119, No. 3, pp. 429–432, April 26, 1954. The plaintiffs charged that the pueblo—

> has refused them the right to bury their dead in the community cemetery; denied them the right to build a church of their own on Pueblo land; prohibited them from using their homes for church purposes; refused to permit Protestant missionaries freely to enter the Pueblo at reasonable times; deprived some of them of the right to use a communal threshing machine which threatened the loss of their wheat crop. They also allege that the officials of the Pueblo threatened them with loss of their birthrights, homes and personal property unless they accept the Catholic religion. [Ibid., p. 430.]

Thus, it would appear that the issue was one of freedom of conscience, freedom to worship as one pleased. But this is not the way the court saw it. "The question for decision," it ruled,

> is not whether the tribal government has the right to interfere with the religious beliefs and practices of its members, but whether or not the objectionable actions of the Pueblo come within the scope of the Civil Rights Act and whether this court has jurisdiction of this case as it is presented by the complaint. [Ibid., p. 431.]
>
> For an action to succeed under the Civil Rights Statute which plaintiffs rely on, at least two conditions must exist. First, a person must be subjected to the deprivation of some right. . . . Second, the action complained of must have been done under the color of a statute . . . of a state . . . [Ibid., pp. 431–432.]
>
> It has, indeed, been held that the powers of an Indian tribe do not spring from the United States although they are subject to the paramount authority of Congress . . . *Their right to govern themselves has been recognized* in such statutes as the Indian Reorganization Act, Act of June 18, 1934 . . . . [Ibid., p. 432; emphasis mine, L. A. W.] [Furthermore], Pueblo Indian communities do not derive their governmental power from the State of New Mexico. . . . [Ibid., p. 430.] [The court held that] the defendants did not act under color of State law. . . . [therefore] no violation of the Civil Rights Act has been alleged, and the Court, therefore, has no jurisdiction of the case. . . . The complaint, therefore, will be dismissed. [Ibid., p. 432.]

The gist of this is: A Pueblo Indian community has a legal right to govern itself. If, therefore, it wishes to require its members to behave in certain ways and to prohibit them from behaving in others, it has a legal right to do so. It must not be taken for granted that the Bill of Rights applies naturally and of necessity to Pueblo Indians; it does so only if their respective pueblo governments specify and assert that it does.

This episode has thrown considerable light, I believe, upon the relationship of Catholicism to aboriginal Indian culture at Sia. The heretics rejected Catholicism as they did the pagan beliefs and rites of Sia; there was no indication whatever that they considered the elements of Catholicism at Sia as being Christian. The orthodox Sia, on their side, regarded these elements as an integral part of their religion and way of life.

# SIA AND HER NEIGHBORS

We know, and are able to infer, very little about the history of Sia prior to 1540. In subsequent paragraphs I shall draw some inferences with regard to the relationship between Sia and other pueblos on the basis of cultural similarities. First, however, I shall deal with Sia's relationships to her neighbors as they are known or as they may be reliably inferred.

The Navaho were the traditional enemies of the Sia, as they were of other pueblos in the Jemez-Rio Grande Valleys. There can be no doubt about this on the basis of folklore, legend, and recorded history. Albert B. Reagan (1917, p. 27), an Indian Agent at Jemez for many years, was told by Jemez Indians that in 1866 the Navaho, in a surprise attack, killed 66 Sias who were working in their fields and that the entire village would have perished had it not been for the timely assistance of Jemez warriors. This account is no doubt grossly exaggerated, but we know that there were occasional raids until the 1880's. Incidentally, it is characteristic of Pueblo Indians to tell stories like this; it is an oblique way of saying that they are superior to their neighbors.

In recent decades, however, friendly relations have obtained between the Navaho and the Sia and other nearby pueblos. There have been a number of Sia-Navaho marriages. Some Navaho spouses have lived in Sia; a Navaho husband was living there in the 1950's. Many Navahos visit Sia at the time of the dance for the patron saint (mid–August) and at Christmas. They camp in, or on the edge of, the pueblo, trade with the Sia and others; some of them eat or sleep in Sia houses.

We do not know anything about contacts, commercial or warlike, that the Sia may have had with the Jicarilla or any other Apache group, the Utes, or any other nonpueblo Indian tribe.

In prehistoric times, Sia's contacts were, no doubt, closest with her nearest neighbors: the Tanoan pueblo of Jemez, and the Keresan pueblos Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. What contacts they may have had with the Tewan pueblos to the north, Sandia or Isleta to the South, or with Acoma, Zuñi, and Hopi to the west, we do not know.

During the reconquest by De Vargas in 1692, Sia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Pecos sided with the Spaniards; all others were hostile and recalcitrant (see, "History of Sia," p. 24). In the revolt of

1696, Sia, Santa Ana, and San Felipe alone remained loyal to the Spaniards. At this time the Indians of Jemez, aided by the Acoma, Zuñi, and Navaho, threatened the Sia for their betrayal of the Indian cause. In 1728–29, Sia joined Jemez, Santa Ana, and Cochiti, first in rebelling against the Spaniards, and then fleeing their homes to a mountain refuge. One can only speculate about the effect of these divisions and alliances upon Sia's relations to her neighbors.

The Sia have been looked down upon by their neighbors in the past chiefly, it seems, because of their dire poverty and their tiny population. The Poore report (1894, p. 431) states that in 1876 the Indians of Jemez, "out of good fellowship," sent a labor force of more than 100 men to Sia to help "in the construction of an acequia [irrigation ditch]. This was allowed to fall into decay, and is now overgrown." The Poore report also touches upon Sia-Santa Ana relations: the Sia complained "to the agent that much of their property was damaged by marauding bands of cattle, especially from Santa Ana." Also, when the Sia needed help "in a time of starvation," they sent to Santa Ana for help, "offering them ready money obtained by selling their trinkets, [but] the Santa Anas refused them supplies, saying it was time they perished from the earth" (ibid., p. 431). Stevenson (1894, p. 11) states that "the Sia are regarded with contempt by the Santa Ana and the Jemez Indians, who never omit an opportunity to give expression to their scorn, feeling assured that this handful of people must submit to insult without hope of redress."

One of Sia's closest neighbors is the little Mexican community of San Ysidro, about 4 miles to the northwest. And there are numerous other Mexican households or small communities in the region nearby. Sia's contacts with the descendants of the early Spanish colonists have, therefore, been quite close for a long time. As we noted earlier, most of the Sia could talk Spanish a generation ago; the recent trend has been away from Spanish toward English, however (see section on "Language," p. 34). The relationship between the Sia and their Mexican neighbors has been, in general, friendly but not intimate. The Sia are inclined to look down on Mexicans, and the latter probably regard Indians as inferior. Many Mexicans come to Sia for fiestas, and some eat at the homes of their friends there. The Sia do not return these visits, not from lack of friendliness, probably, but from want of occasion. There is some buying and selling of livestock and field and garden produce between the two groups. We know of two Mexican women who have married Sia and have gone there to live (see "Marriage," p. 212).

Another index of Sia's relationships with her neighbors is marriage with non-Sias. The Hopi, Navaho, Acoma, and Indians from Jemez have married into Sia; even one white man lived there as the husband of a Sia girl for a time. According to my census of 1957, most marriages with non-Sias were with women and men of Jemez (see "Marriage with non-Sias," p. 211).

Sia has long been somewhat off the beaten track. Many of the parties that have toured New Mexico, such as some of the early American army expeditions, have missed Sia entirely as they often confined their route to the Rio Grande valley and thence westward from Albuquerque. We have no evidence that Sia was appreciably affected by the construction of the railroad, some 20 miles to the east, about 1880. Access to Sia was difficult even as recently as the 1930's, for there was no bridge across the Jemez River at the pueblo. The only safe way to reach Sia, as Halseth (1924 b, p. 67) reported in 1924, was to go to San Ysidro, cross the bridge there, and then descend the left bank of the river, to the pueblo. One could cross the river at the pueblo when the water was low, but this was dangerous because of quicksand. The bridge opposite the pueblo was not built until the late 1930's.

Stevenson (1894, p. 11), reporting for the late 1880's, stated that "limited intertribal relations exist [between Sia and other groups]," but that they were "principally for the purpose of traffic [trade]." But there has undoubtedly been much visiting back and forth between Sia and her nearest pueblo neighbors for many decades. They visit each other's dances and occasionally take part in them. Pueblos help each other initiate members of secret societies (see my account of the Caiyaik initiation, p. 172), or to install a cacique.

A few decades ago the Sia had relatively few friendly relationships with Anglo-Americans, but these have increased with the years and with improvements in transportation. A considerable number have Anglo-American friends in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, or elsewhere, with whom occasional visits are exchanged. Professional psychologists who visited Sia in 1942–43 found the people "not unfriendly, but they are shy. They do not meet strangers as easily as do the Hopi" (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955, p. 10).

Sia has had long contact with the Bureau of Indian Affairs through the agencies at Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Education, health, agriculture, and stockraising have been the principal areas involved. The attitude of the Sia has been somewhat inconsistent or ambivalent. On the one hand, they ask for help and have some appreciation of assistance rendered. On the other hand, they have resisted the Pueblos Agency on many occasions and have complained bitterly because of their neglect or incompetence. On the whole, however, the Sia have been quite receptive and cooperative, and this attitude has grown stronger, we believe, in recent years.

# CULTURAL POSITION OF SIA

The culture of Sia is definitely and characteristically Keresan. It resembles very closely that of Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Santo Domingo. But at a number of points the similarities between Sia and Acoma seem to be so striking and significant as strongly to suggest close ties in the past. It is true, as I have already pointed out (see "Language," p. 33), that dialectically Sia is more remote from Acoma than her Keresan cousins of the Rio Grande. But there are impressive similarities. One of the most interesting is that only Sia and Acoma, among the Keres, have a snake ceremony. As far as we know, the only reference to a snake ceremony at Acoma is to be found in an early Spanish account. But the snake ceremony at Sia is a fullfledged ceremony, and it resembles the Hopi ceremonies rather closely. Of the Keresan pueblos Acoma is the closest to the Hopi; perhaps both Sia and Acoma borrowed the snake ceremony from the Hopi. But it is not without significance that among the Keresan pueblos only Acoma and Sia have this ceremony.

Among the Keres, only Acoma and Sia have had rectangular kivas (see "Kivas," p. 50). Those at Acoma were incorporated within house blocks, whereas those at Sia stood alone and apart. Acoma had 5 or 6 kivas whereas Sia had only 2, the conventional number for the Rio Grande Keres. Nevertheless, here is another similarity.

At Acoma the cacique had to belong to the Antelope clan (White, 1932 a, p. 41). At Sia the cacique must belong to one or another of 3 or 4 clans, one of which is Antelope Washpa. "There used to be an Antelope clan in Sia," said an informant; "it was one of the clans from which the cacique was chosen. When it died out the Washpa clan took it over, and now the Antelope Washpa [clan] is one of the clans from which the cacique must be chosen." At no other Keresan pueblo is the office of cacique identified with the Antelope clan; as a matter of fact, Sia and Acoma appear to be the only two that require affiliation with a specific clan, or clans, for this office.

Sia pottery resembles that of Santa Ana more than that of any other pueblo, according to Chapman (White, 1942 a, p. 48). But resemblances with the wares of Acoma come next, and they are quite close, both in form and in decoration.

Sia resembles Acoma more closely than other eastern Keresan pueblos at a few other points: the presence of the masked Gomaiyawic; the Fire society's ceremony with live coals; and stick swallowing.

Hrdlička (1935, p. 250) found a high percentage of artificial head deformation—cradle flattening—at Sia and Acoma, as compared with other pueblo groups.

Acoma folklore obtained by Bandelier (1892, pp. 312–313) related that the Acoma separated from the other Keres at the pueblo of Sia on their mythical migration from the place of emergence to their place of residence in modern times.

The Acoma kinship term, tcitci (sibling), was used by one of my Sia informants; it is used in no other Keresan pueblo as far as I know.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Sia and Acoma have been especially closely related, historically and culturally.

# LAND, AGRICULTURE, AND STOCK RAISING

## LAND

Nothing is more precious to the Pueblo Indian than his land; one of his greatest fears, or sources of anxiety, is that he will be deprived of it. And with good reason, for ever since the coming of the White man the Pueblo Indian has been threatened with expropriation, and there have been many instances of loss and deprivation. The land question in the Pueblo country is an old and complicated one, but its history has been well summarized by S. D. Aberle (1948).

After the conquest of New Mexico the Spanish king granted a tract of land to each pueblo; Sia was allotted 16,282 acres (Aberle, 1948, p. 82.) For decades, however, the acreage for this grant has been cited as 17,515 (Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1874, p. 224; Royce, 1899, p. 922; Brayer, 1939, pp. 99–100; data given to me by the District Cadastral Engineer, General Land Office, Santa Fe, in 1933). The "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States" (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9888) gave the acreage as of 1930 as 17,750.

The Spanish grants were recognized by Mexico after it achieved independence in 1821, and they were also honored by the United States when it acquired the territory in 1848. Many pueblos of New Mexico lost land to squatters or from other kinds of encroachment during the 18th and 19th centuries. The lands of the Sia were so poor, however, that when the Pueblo Lands Board undertook a study of land problems in 1927 it "found no non-Indian encroachments" upon Sia lands (Brayer, 1939, p. 100).

During the first four decades of the 20th century, many pueblos in New Mexico acquired the use of additional lands in one way or another. In 1924, "a tract of land amounting to 386.85 acres located in the public domain adjacent to the northwest corner of the Zia pueblo grant . . . was set apart as a reservation for the benefit, use, and occupancy of the Indians of Zia pueblo" (ibid., p. 100). In 1938, the Sia were given by Executive Order the use of three tracts of land totaling 40,585.41 acres (Aberle, 1948, p. 82). And in the same year they acquired, by lease or permit from Federal Government agencies, three additional tracts amounting to 57,807.24 acres (ibid., p. 82). Thus, by 1944, the Sia had 115,061 acres of land at their disposal (ibid., p. 84); no acreage had been added to or subtracted from their holdings between that date and 1957, when the present study was terminated.

In 1957 the Sia had 350 acres of land per capita, or 1,400 acres per family of four. But only a small portion of this can be cultivated; the greater part is classed as grazing, and a considerable portion is simply waste. In 1936, for example, according to the United Pueblos Agency, 221 acres were irrigated, 15,055 were grazing lands, 2,108 were waste, and 129 acres were idle. As a matter of fact, the Sia appear never to have had as much as 2 acres of irrigated, cultivated land per capita since the keeping of records began; in 1936, for example, they had only 1.09 acre per capita. Other dates and figures are: 1900, 142 acres, cultivated (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff. 1900, p. 293); 1930, 340 acres, irrigated (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9888); 1944, 312 acres, "agricultural" (Aberle, 1948, p. 84); and 1957, 227 acres, irrigated.

In 1776, Fray Domínguez noted that there were some arable lands in the little cañadas both north and south of Sia, and "the Indians . . . have farm lands for a league upstream and a league downstream along the river. . . . The land in the small cañadas is always dependent on rain. Those along the river are watered from it when the rains are heavy; when they are not, there are difficulties. In view of this and because the said lands are very sterile, so little is harvested that when things go well, they make the most of that year" (Domínguez, 1956, p. 175).

## IRRIGATION

Stevenson (1894, p. 11) states that the Sia had "considerable irrigable lands" in the 1880's, "but a meager supply of water" because upstream Mexican towns and the Pueblo of Jemez took most of the water, leaving little for Sia. In the 1950's the Jemez River was still the sole source of water for irrigation, but by the last of June or the early part of July the flow is so diminished that its water cannot be diverted for use. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has done much to improve the irrigation system; by 1952 it had constructed 12 canals and main ditches and a reservoir of 50 acre-feet capacity. Figure 11 (facing p. 96) shows the location of the river, the reservoir, and the irrigated lands.

The irrigation system in operation in 1952, according to a study made by the United Pueblos Agency, was inefficient and wasteful. Much water was wasted by seepage in the numerous ditches needed to service a host of small, individually held plots. Many of the tracts were not adequately leveled, which means that much water ran off during heavy irrigation, carrying tons of precious topsoil with it. In other places, irrigation water accumulated, raising the water table, and causing accumulations of salt that made growth of crops impossible.

## CROPS

Corn, alfalfa, wheat, chili, oats, beans, fruits, and garden produce are cultivated. It would be meaningless to say which of these is "the most important" without specifying the context in which "important" is to be defined: whether it be food for people or livestock, contribution to a balanced diet, cash income, or something else. Nutritionists say that the Sia do not eat enough fruit, so that the meager amount grown may be considered important. Considerable alfalfa is grown, but livestock could be fed on wild hay or pasturage. Chili has become a significant source of cash income, and so on. We have many figures on acreage, yields, and values of crops, taken from the files of the "Annual Reports of Extension Work" of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is difficult to obtain accurate information on these points, and many of their figures may be only approximate or even inaccurate. Nevertheless, we believe they do have value and significance.

Alfalfa ranks first in terms of acreage and money value. An average of 102 acres was harvested annually during 7 selected years, 1936 to 1956, inclusive, as compared with an average of 99 acres for corn, and 31 for wheat. The average annual value of crops for 7 selected years, 1930 to 1956, was $5,432 for alfalfa, $3,790 for corn, and $1,339 for wheat. Oats are relatively insignificant: an average of 11.5 acres harvested per year, with an average value of $285 annually, for 4 selected years, 1941 to 1949.

For some reason, beans constitute a relatively insignificant item in the agricultural economy. This is rather surprising, since they grow well under arid conditions and are a staple article of diet among the Spanish-Americans of the region. As noted in the chapter on "Health, Sanitation, and Diet," (p. 106) beans are relatively little eaten in Sia. In 1930, beans valued at only $60 were produced (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9888); this amounted to 17 cents per day for the entire pueblo. In 1936, only 15 bushels were produced; none was sold. In 1949, the last year for which we have figures, 140 bushels were grown, of which 100 were sold, leaving less than 1 bushel per household for the year.

Production of chili has, however, increased greatly since the 1930's, and informants said that it was acquiring importance as a cash crop. Only a few bushels were produced in 1936, and none was sold. The acreage planted increased from 3 in 1941 to 18 in 1956, and the yield increased from 3 tons to 36 tons in the same period. The value of the chili crop in 1956, $7,288, exceeded the combined values of corn, $2,307, and alfalfa, $4,867.

An interesting, and rather surprising, aspect of Sia agricultural economy is the extent to which crops are sold rather than consumed;

and the percentage of crops sold has been increasing. Thus, 20 percent of the corn crop in 1941 was sold; 53 percent, in 1951. Seven percent of wheat grown in 1941 was sold; 66 percent, in 1949. Relatively little alfalfa is sold, however; none at all in many years. Our data on beans are meager, but they indicate that 20 percent was sold in 1941; 71 percent in 1949. Ten percent of the chili crop in 1941 was sold; in 1951 the percentage was 77; but in 1956 it was 41. The reasons why such large portions of agricultural produce—especially corn and wheat, which could be eaten in the pueblo—are sold are not clear, and I had insufficient opportunity to investigate the subject. One answer readily suggests itself, namely, the need for cash with which to purchase needed supplies, including food such as sugar, coffee, and lard.

In addition to field crops, onions, cabbage, potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*), watermelons, cantaloups, and squash are grown in gardens; apples, peaches, cherries, and grapes are produced in relatively small quantities (White, 1945). Acreage devoted to gardens (irrigated) ranges from about 5 (1941) to 13.5 acres (1956).

## STOCKRAISING VS. FARMING

In comparison with the nearby pueblos of Jemez, Santa Ana, and San Felipe, Sia has placed greater emphasis on stockraising and correspondingly less on field crops, despite the fact that, according to Superintendent Towers, they "have one of the poorest ranges in this part of the country" (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9879). This emphasis is reflected in the greater extent to which cowboy boots and other pastoral attire have been worn in Sia. Among the above-named four pueblos in 1930, Sia was first in number of cattle per capita, 2.0 head, followed by Santa Ana, 1.7, and San Felipe third with 0.7 head. Sia led in number of sheep and goats per capita, having 8.50; San Felipe came next with 5.7, and Jemez, third with 0.5 head. With regard to horses, Jemez had 0.6 head per capita, Sia, 0.5; Santa Ana, 0.4. Sia was far ahead in number of cattle and sheep and goats per capita, with 10.5; San Felipe had 6.3; Santa Ana, 1.7. And for horses, cattle, and sheep and goats, Sia had 11.0 head per capita; San Felipe, 6.7; Santa Ana, 2.1. Thus, Sia was markedly ahead of its neighbors in the extent to which it owned livestock in 1930.

With regard to total value per capita of three crops produced in 1930, viz, wheat, corn, and alfalfa, Sia fell far behind Jemez, Santa Ana, and San Felipe. Jemez led with $63.10 per capita; San Felipe was next with $54.70; Santa Ana had $37.80; Sia came last with only $27.90 per capita.

## LIVESTOCK

Horses, mules, burros, cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs are kept.

The earliest count of livestock that we have for Sia is in the report of Indian Agent Ward for 1864: horses, 10; mules, 2; burros, 36; cows, 70; oxen, 32; swine, 0 (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff., 1865, p. 199). No sheep or goats are mentioned in this report, although the Sia undoubtedly kept them at that time. The next count is that of the Indian Agent for 1885: cattle, 400; sheep, 300; horses, 300; burros, 50; hogs, 10 (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff., 1885, p. 156). In 1890, Poore (1894, p. 431) counted 650 cows and oxen, 300 horses, 40 mules, 100 burros. Like Ward, Poore does not give figures for sheep and goats, perhaps because they were out on the range and anything like an adequate count would have been impossible. Poore's figures are the largest on record up to 1957. Stevenson, reporting for the late 1890's, says (1894, p.25): "The Sia own about 150 horses."

Burros were much used in the past as pack animals. Their number has decreased drastically since the turn of the century; Sia has had but few, if any, since the 1940's.

The need for horses, also, has diminished, and their numbers have decreased. Formerly, horses were used primarily, if not solely, for transportation: for riding and drawing wagons. The pickup truck has replaced them extensively. Horses and mules are used to some extent in farm work, but I have no data on this point. The principal use of horses that I have observed is in the ceremony of gallo, or rooster pull. Apparently it was rather generally felt, during the 1940's and perhaps even earlier, that there were too many horses and too few uses for them, for an Indian Agency study in 1952 stated that "it is highly desirable that the program of disposing of excess horses be continued." The number of horses and mules (the two are not distinguished in many reports) remained fairly constant between 1936 and 1951; the average for 6 selected years during this period was 148 head. According to United Pueblos Agency reports, Sia had 173 horses and mules in 1951, only 91 in 1956.

In the old days, and as recently as 1910 according to informants, horses were tended in a communal herd (see p. 130).

As we have seen, the Sia had 400 head of cattle in 1885; 5 years later they had 650 head. The number of cattle has remained fairly constant over the years. The average for 7 selected years between 1936 and 1956, inclusive, was 480 head. These have been beef cattle with very few exceptions, and these only within recent years. No reference at all was made to dairy cattle in early reports; the report of 1941 stated specifically that there were no milk cows. In 1946, however, there were 5 milk cows; in 1951, 7. The Pueblo Indians had no cows in pre-Spanish times and of course used no milk. They have no aversion to this beverage, however, as many oriental peoples do. "The Indians do not like the responsibility for proper care of milk stock or milk products," says a report of the Indian Agency in 1952, adding that lack of knowledge of proper care and feeding of dairy cattle, limited farmland and water for irrigation—making it difficult to provide milk cows with sufficient food—help to explain why the Sia have so few dairy cattle.

Sia had only 300 sheep in 1885, according to the report of the Indian Agent; in 1930 they had 1,500 (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9889). This number increased to 2,248 in 1941, the largest number I have found, after which it has declined. The average for 6 selected years between 1936 and 1951, inclusive, was 1,648 head. But the flocks declined sharply from 1,279 in 1951 to only 550 in 1956, for reasons unknown to me. There are always some goats in a flock of sheep in the Pueblo country. Sia averaged 200 head a year between 1936 and 1956, inclusive.

Sia had 10 hogs in 1885 and 5 in 1900, according to reports of Indian Agents for those years. In 1930 it had 19 head, and this number had approximately doubled by 1951; the annual average for 5 selected years, 1941 to 1951, inclusive, was 26 head. The 37 hogs in 1951 were owned by 17 families. They were kept in small pens on the edge of the pueblo and had to be fed; they could not be allowed to forage for themselves because they would destroy gardens.

Sia has kept chickens and turkeys for many years. The former were, of course, introduced; the latter were kept in pre-Spanish days. For 6 selected years between 1936 and 1951, there was an average of about 224 chickens in the pueblo. The number of turkeys has ranged from 5 in 1941 to 18 in 1946, with an average of 10 for 5 selected years, 1941 to 1951, inclusive. Only one-third to one-half of the households own chickens; only 1 to 3 families have turkeys.

In general, beef cattle have been the most important class of livestock at Sia from the standpoint of money value, with sheep and goats next, and horses third. In 1930, percentages of total value of livestock were as follows: cattle, 47; sheep and goats, 40; horses, 12; hogs, 0.5; and poultry, 0.2. On the basis of data for 1930, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1948, 1949, and 1951, the following significant changes in percentages of value took place: cattle declined to 34 percent in 1941, then increased to 68 percent in 1951. Sheep and goats fluctuated; they reached a high of 48 percent in 1941, then declined to 26 percent in 1951. Horses advanced to 17.5 percent in 1936, then declined to 4 percent in 1951, and the percentage has probably diminished further since then. Hogs have been erratic and insignificant: in percentage of value they advanced to a high of 1.6 in 1948, then declined to 1.4

in 1951. Chickens and turkeys likewise have fluctuated between 0.2 percent in 1930, a high of 1.2 in 1946, then to 0.5 in 1951.

The Sia have derived considerable income from the sale of cattle and sheep; a few goats, horses, and hogs are sold, also, from time to time, but income from these sales is relatively insignificant (see table 10).

TABLE 10.—*Income from sale of livestock in dollars* [1]

| Year | Cattle | Sheep | Goats | Hogs | Horses | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 480 | 1,817 |  |  |  | 2,297 |
| 1941 | 5,625 | 5,695 |  | 4 | 195 | 11,519 |
| 1946 | 5,245 | 4,397 | 1,158 |  | 350 | 11,150 |
| 1948 | 9,490 | 9,584 | 1,020 |  | 145 | 20,239 |
| 1949 | 6,995 | 10,548 | 948 |  |  | 18,491 |
| 1951 | 11,570 | 11,244 | 824 | 1,200 | 110 | 24,948 |
| 1956 | 2,205 | 1,060 |  |  |  | 3,265 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

I suspect the 1951 figure for sale of hogs may be an error. The meager income in 1936 may reflect the years of the great depression. The decline between 1951 and 1956 is very marked, and I shall comment upon its possible significance later. Table 10 shows an increase in total money income of 117 percent between 1941 and 1951. During the 5 specified years, 1941 to 1951, inclusive, $38,925 were received from sale of cattle; $47,235, from sheep and goats—21 percent more than from cattle.

## WOOL

Table 11 shows the amount of wool produced and sold for a number of selected years, 1936 to 1956, inclusive. All wool produced in each year was sold except in 1941 when, for some reason which I did not ascertain, 365 pounds were kept for home consumption.

TABLE 11.—*Production and sale of wool* [1]

| Year | Pounds produced | Price per pound | Amount received |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 6,271 | $0.22 | $1,379 |
| 1941 | 10,865 | .28 | 2,940 |
| 1946 | 10,000 | .32 | 3,200 |
| 1948 | 9,450 | .35 | 3,308 |
| 1949 | 9,625 | .31 | 2,984 |
| 1951 | 8,967 | .40 | 3,587 |
| 1956 | 2,397 | .26 | 623 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

The significant facts emerging from table 11 are the marked drop in wool production in the 1950's and a sharp decline in the price of wool; we have already noted a great decrease in the number of sheep during this period. Since Sia has traditionally emphasized sheep and wool production, this may presage a significant change in their economy and with it their whole way of life.

### HIDES

We interpret "hides" to mean the skins of cattle as distinguished from sheep pelts (table 12).

Table 12.—*Production, use, and sale of hides* [1]

| Year | Pounds produced | Value | Pounds sold | Percentage sold | Money received |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 500 | $110 | 400 | 80 | $88 |
| 1948 | 1,736 | 278 | 1,000 | 57 | 160 |
| 1949 | 1,224 | 220 | 650 | 53 | 117 |
| 1951 | 1,190 | 238 | 670 | 56 | 134 |
| 1956 | 300 | 36 | 300 | 100 | 36 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

I have no data on use of hides not sold. The amounts produced, sold, and used are not of much importance in Sia economy.

### PELTS

These are the skins of sheep primarily, but may include a few goats.

Table 13.—*Production and sale of pelts* [1]

| Year | Pounds produced | Value | Pounds sold | Percentage sold | Money received |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 632 | $95 | 400 | 63 | $60 |
| 1946 | 150 | 30 | 150 | 100 | 30 |
| 1948 | 700 | 98 | 350 | 50 | 49 |
| 1949 | 394 | 79 | 195 | 50 | 39 |
| 1951 | 1,040 | 208 | 790 | 76 | 158 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

Sheep pelts were formerly used extensively as rugs or mats for floors and beds. This item, too, is an insignificant one in the Sia economy.

### RATIO OF SALES TO PRODUCTION OF FIELD CROPS AND LIVESTOCK

The ratio of sales to total production of field crops (hay, grain, chili, beans, fruit, etc.) is shown in table 14.

Table 14.—*Production and sales of field crops* [1]

| Year | Yield | Sales | Percentage of sales |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | $3,342 | $135 | 4 |
| 1946 | 17,441 | 2,130 | 12 |
| 1948 | 16,661 | 3,358 | 21 |
| 1949 | 17,750 | 5,031 | 28 |
| 1951 | 26,324 | 8,372 | 32 |
| 1956 | 21,558 | 3,000 | 14 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

Table 14 reveals a progressive and marked increase in the portion of total yield sold between 1941 and 1951, inclusive, but a drastic drop during the next 5 years. I shall try to evaluate this trend shortly.

Some livestock and livestock products—meat, wool, pelts, milk, and eggs—are sold; some are consumed in the pueblo. Table 15 shows magnitudes and proportions.

TABLE 15.—*Sales and home use of livestock and livestock products* [1]

| Year | Sales | Use | Total | Percentage of sales |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | $14,519 | $4,560 | $19,097 | 76 |
| 1946 | 14,528 | 3,752 | 18,280 | 79 |
| 1948 | 23,768 | 11,592 | 35,360 | 67 |
| 1949 | 22,051 | 10,084 | 32,135 | 70 |
| 1951 | 25,467 | 18,610 | 44,077 | 58 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

Between 1941 and 1951, sales increased 75 percent; home consumption, 308 percent; and total value, 130 percent. Home use increased at the expense of sales.

Table 16 gives a comparison of money income from agricultural products and that from livestock and livestock products.

TABLE 16.—*Sales of agricultural products and livestock and livestock products* [1]

| Year | Agricultural products | Livestock and livestock products | Total | Percentage agricultural |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | $135 | $14,519 | $14,654 | 0.9 |
| 1946 | 2,130 | 14,528 | 16,658 | 13 |
| 1948 | 3,358 | 23,768 | 27,126 | 12 |
| 1949 | 5,031 | 22,051 | 27,082 | 19 |
| 1951 | 8,372 | 25,467 | 33,839 | 25 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

Here again is seen the importance of stock raising as compared with agriculture, although the latter seems to be increasing in significance.

Table 17 presents a summary of total agricultural operations—field crops and livestock and livestock products—with reference to portions sold and consumed according to value.

TABLE 17.—*Summary of agricultural operations: crops and stock* [1]

| Year | Sales | Percent | Consumed | Percent | Total income | Total in 1935–39 dollars [2] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | $14,654 | 74 | $5,856 | 26 | $19,869 net | $18,876 |
| 1946 | 16,658 | 59 | 13,138 | 41 | $28,291 net | 20,284 |
| 1948 | 27,126 | 62 | 16,933 | 38 | $44,059 gross | 25,255 |
| 1949 | 27,502 | 62 | 16,610 | 38 | $44,112 gross | 25,872 |
| 1951 | 40,918 | 62 | 25,491 | 38 | $66,409 gross | 35,861 |
| 1956 | 13,894 | 31 | 31,031 | 69 | $44,925 | ---------- |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.
[2] Consumer's Price Index, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953, p. 306.

There was an increase of 234 percent in actual money income between 1941 and 1951, inclusive; in terms of 1935–1939 dollars, however, the increase is only about 90 percent. Income falls off sharply in 1956. The portion of total produce that is consumed increased greatly during the period 1941–1956.

### DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO OWNERSHIP OF LIVESTOCK

There is considerable lack of uniformity among the families, or households,[8] of Sia with regard to the amount of livestock owned.

#### SHEEP

"Two men only are possessors of herds of sheep," according to Stevenson (1894, p. 25). Ownership was more widespread during the late 1940's when 10 families owned flocks (table 18):

TABLE 18.—*Distribution of families by number of sheep owned* [1]

| Year | A [2] | B [2] | C [2] | 41–50 | 51–75 | 76–100 | 101–150 | 151–200 | 201–300 | 301–400 | 401–500 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 48 | 10 | 1,464 | 1 | 2 | -------- | 4 | -------- | 2 | -------- | 1 |
| 1948 | 52 | 10 | 1,492 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | -------- | -------- | -------- |
| 1949 | 52 | 10 | 1,394 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | -------- | -------- | -------- |
| 1951 | 52 | 10 | 1,279 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | -------- | -------- |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.
[2] A=Number of familes in Sia. B=Number of families owning sheep. C=Total number of sheep owned.

Table 18 shows that: (1) Only a relatively small number of families own sheep. (2) There is a trend toward smaller holdings: 70 percent of owning families had more than 100 sheep per family in 1946 (80 percent had 100 or more in 1941), 50 percent had more than 100 or more per family in 1948 and in 1949, while only 40 percent had more than 100 in 1951. The decrease in size of holding may be correlated with the overall decline in total number. Goats are not included in this table, but they are relatively insignificant numerically and monetarily.

#### CATTLE

Stevenson reported that "a few cattle are owned individually by many of the Sia" (1894, p. 25). Table 19 presents the situation as to quantity and ownership for the late 1940's:

TABLE 19.—*Distribution of families by number of beef cattle owned* [1]

| Year | A [2] | B [2] | C [2] | 1–5 | 6–10 | 11–20 | 21–30 | 31–40 | 41–50 | 51–75 | 76–100 | 101–150 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 48 | 21 | 429 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 4 | -------- | 2 | -------- | -------- | 1 |
| 1948 | 52 | 21 | 395 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 4 | -------- | 2 | -------- | -------- | 1 |
| 1949 | 52 | 27 | 423 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 4 | -------- | 2 | -------- | -------- | -------- |
| 1951 | 52 | 27 | 396 | 10 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | -------- | -------- |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.
[2] A=Number of families in Sia. B=Number of families owning beef cattle. C=Total number of beef cattle owned.

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[8] These "families" are probably *households*, i.e., all the persons who occupy a house and eat at one table. But the Agency's report uses the term *family*.

First of all, we note that from two to three times as many families own cattle as own sheep. This is due, in part at least, to the fact that sheep require almost constant attention in herding whereas cattle do not; therefore it is desirable, from the standpoint of labor, to have fewer and larger herds of sheep than would be the case with cattle. Second, we note a marked uniformity of percentage of families owning cattle. Third, more than half the owning families possess less than 11 head each.

### HORSES

We do not have the distribution of families by number of horses, mules, and burros owned. (Note: The Agency's figures do not always distinguish between horses and mules; and, as I have noted earlier, the number of burros has decreased virtually to a vanishing point. The animals in table 20 are, therefore, predominantly horses.) We do have, however, the number of families owning these animals and the total number owned (table 20):

Table 20.—*Number of families owning horses, mules, and burros* [1]

| Year | Number of families in Sia | Number owning horses, mules, burros | Total animals owned |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 52 | 40 | 122 |
| 1941 | 45 | 37 | 184 |
| 1946 | 48 | 36 | 138 |
| 1948 | 52 | 36 | 142 |
| 1949 | 52 | 45 | 174 |
| 1951 | 52 | 45 | 173 |
| 1956 | 65 | 35 | 90 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

The percentage of families owning horses is considerably larger than the percentage owning cattle, just as the latter is larger than the percentage owning sheep. Why this is so is not very clear since, as we have seen earlier, horses are not used extensively for practical purposes. Perhaps there is an attitude that "every family should have a horse or two."

### HOGS

Table 21.—*Families owning hogs* [1]

| Year | Number of families owning | Total hogs owned |
|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 15 | 22 |
| 1946 | 16 | 24 |
| 1948 | 16 | 21 |
| 1949 | 16 | 27 |
| 1951 | 17 | 37 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency. No family owns more than 5 head of hogs, apparently.

### CHICKENS

TABLE 22.—*Families owning chickens* [1]

| Year | Number of families owning | Total chickens owned |
|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 23 | 321 |
| 1946 | 36 | 388 |
| 1948 | 20 | 148 |
| 1949 | 10 | 153 |
| 1951 | 14 | 218 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency. We do not have distribution of ownership by families.

### TURKEYS

TABLE 23.—*Families owning turkeys* [1]

| Year | Number of families owning | Total turkeys owned |
|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 2 | 5 |
| 1946 | 3 | 18 |
| 1948 | 1 | 8 |
| 1949 | 1 | 8 |
| 1951 | 2 | 12 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

## AVERAGE INCOME PER FAMILY

The average income per family from "agricultural operations" (this includes both field crops, and livestock and livestock products; and includes total value of sales and value of products consumed in the home) is shown in table 24.

TABLE 24.—*Average income per family from agricultural operations* [1]

| Year | Number of families with agricultural income | Income per family | Income in 1935–39 dollars |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 42 | $473 | $449 |
| 1946 | 42 | 674 | 483 |
| 1948 | 49 | 899 | 523 |
| 1949 | 49 | 900 | 529 |
| 1951 | 51 | 1,302 | 702 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

According to the Agency reports there are, each year, some families without agricultural income: 3 in 1941, 6 in 1946, 3 in 1948 and 1949, only 1 in 1951. I have no specific data on these families. they raise no crops and have no livestock, apparently, in which case we may suppose that they are either dependent upon relatives or have income from a nonagricultural source, as do a growing number of families who have jobs off the reservation.

The Agency report for 1936 estimates average family income at $353, which is less than $1.00 a day. Family income in actual dollars increased 175 percent between 1941 and 1951, inclusive; but in terms of 1935–1939 dollars the increase was only 56 percent.

Sia resembled rather closely three of its pueblo neighbors with respect to percentages of total amount of agricultural operations sold and percentages consumed (table 25).

TABLE 25.—*Percentage of total agricultural operations sold*[1]

| Pueblo | 1948 | 1956 |
|---|---|---|
| Sia | 62 | 31 |
| Jemez | 65 | 12 |
| Santa Ana | 49 | 17 |
| San Felipe | 56 | 13 |

[1] Source: Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency.

All four pueblos show a marked drop in 1956 as compared with 1948. Sia's decline is the least of the four, and the portion sold is still much greater in 1956 than that of her neighbors. I do not know what the significance of these changes may be.

## LANDHOLDING

The great bulk of the land of the Sia is grazing or wasteland, and it is communally owned, or held. Land that can be cultivated is held by individuals. According to the Extension Report for 1936, 1,000 acres of land were classed as "tillable." Only 220 acres of this amount were irrigated; none was dry farmed.

I obtained two maps from the Extension Division, United Pueblos Agency, showing the location and allocation of tillable lands in 1936. These maps were combined into a single illustration (fig. 11). Charts accompanied these maps giving the names of holders of land, the number of tracts held by each, the acreage of each tract, and totals for number of tracts and acreage. These charts have not been included in figure 11, but the data contained in them are set forth below. The holdings were classified as "cultivated," "not cultivated," and "dry farmed." I am not sure what these designations mean, since 619 acres are classified as "cultivated," whereas the Extension Report for 1936 indicates that only 220 acres, or less, were cultivated. Perhaps "cultivated" means *tillable.* But I understand "not cultivated" to mean tillable but unused at the time. In any event, this map (fig. 11) does indicate tracts of land that are held by certain designated persons, which gives us a great deal of statistical information on this subject. I extract and present the following interesting facts about landholding at Sia:

600685 O–62 (Face p. 96)

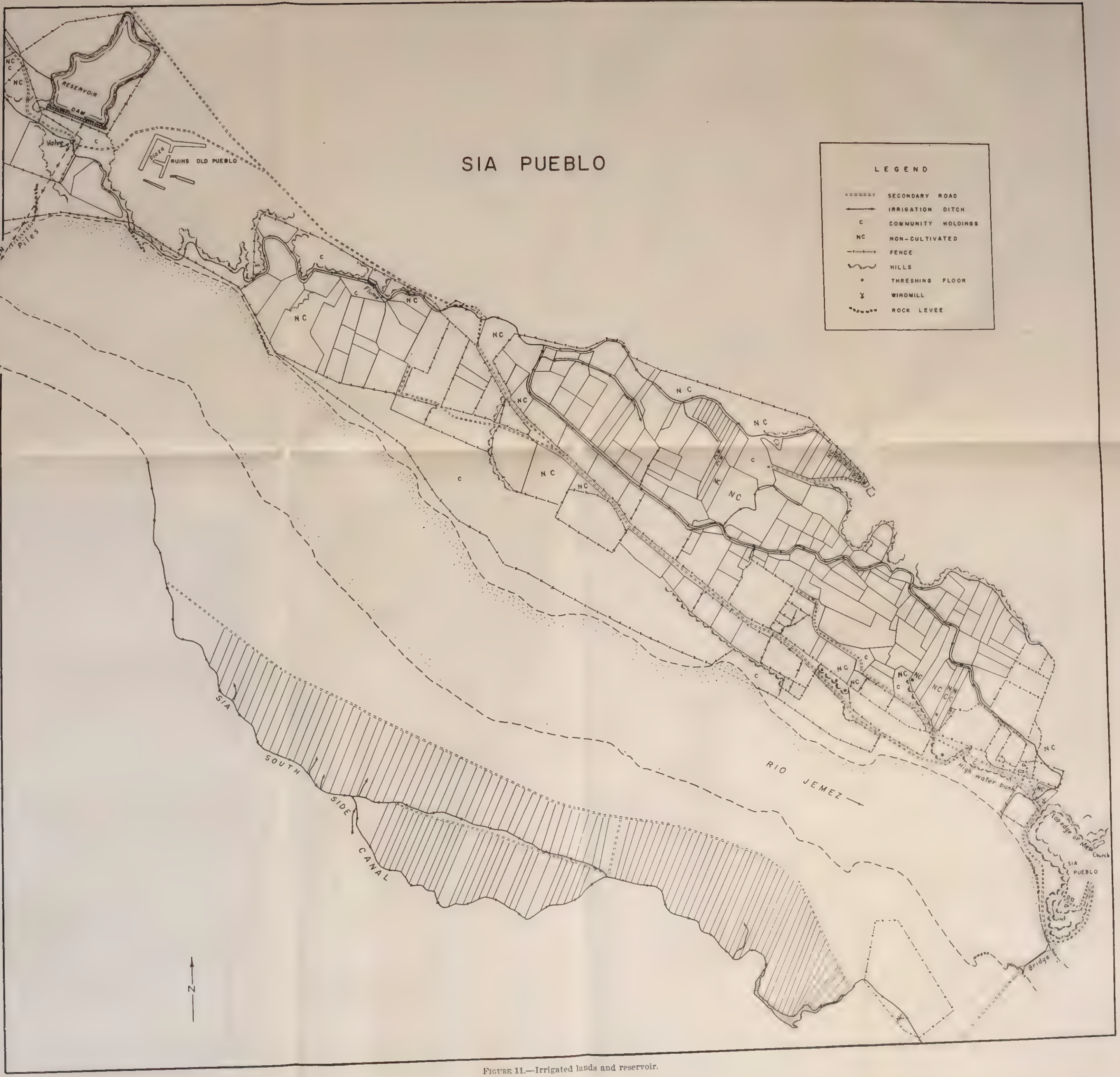
SIA PUEBLO
LEGEND
SECONDARY ROAD
IRRIGATION DITCH
C COMMUNITY HOLDINGS
NC NON-CULTIVATED
FENCE
HILLS
THRESHING FLOOR
WINDMILL
ROCK LEVEE
RESERVOIR
DAM
Valve
Plaza
RUINS OLD PUEBLO
15 INCH SIPHON
Piles
Flume
NC
C
SIA SOUTH SIDE CANAL
RIO JEMEZ
High water bank
Top edge of Mesa
Church
SIA PUEBLO
Bridge
N

FIGURE 11.—Irrigated lands and reservoir.

There were 400 tracts of land comprising 1,038 acres in the area shown in figure 11. Three hundred eighty-five tracts (96 percent of the total) comprising 844 acres (81 percent of the total) were held by individuals. The rest was community land: 15 tracts comprising 195 acres. Of the 400 tracts, 378 (94.5 percent) were cultivated, 16 tracts (4 percent) were not cultivated, 4 tracts (1.5 percent) were dry farmed. Of the 1,038 acres, 799 acres (77 percent) were cultivated, 183 (18 percent) were not cultivated, and 57 acres (5 percent) were dry farmed.

Of the 385 tracts held by individuals, 364 (94.6 percent) were cultivated, 16 (4.1 percent) were not cultivated, 5 (1.3 percent) were dry farmed. Of the 15 tracts of community land, 14 were cultivated, 1 was dry farmed. Of the 844 acres of individual holdings, 619 (73.4 percent) were cultivated, 183 acres (21.7 percent) were not cultivated, and 41 (4.9 percent) were dry farmed. Of the 195 acres of community land, 179 (92 percent) were cultivated, 15.33 (8 percent) were dry farmed. We thus see that a very large percentage of the land is cultivated.

The size of tracts is small. The average size of all tracts held by individuals is 2.3 acres; the average size of cultivated tracts held by individuals is only 1.7 acres. Individually held cultivated tracts range in size from 0.1 acre to 15.21 acres. Of the 364 individually held cultivated tracts, 64 (17.6 percent) contain 0.5 acre or less; 156 (42.9 percent) contain 1.0 acre or less; 116 (31.9 percent) range from 1.1 acres to 2.0 acres; 45 (12.3 percent) range from 2.1 to 3.0 acres in size. Thus, in 87.2 percent of the cultivated tracts each contains 3.0 acres or less; 8.2 percent (30 tracts) each ranges from 3.1 to 5.0 acres. Only 17 tracts contain more than 5 acres each; only 3 exceed 10 acres each in size. The largest tract contains 15.21 acres. One of the tracts of "noncultivated" land contains 148.62 acres; no other tract of any kind can compare with this in size.

Seventy-four persons hold 385 tracts of land, or an average of 5.2 tracts per person. These 74 persons hold 844 acres of land, or an average of 11.4 acres per person. With regard to cultivated land, 74 persons hold 364 tracts, totaling 619 acres, or an average of 4.9 tracts, 8.4 acres, per person. The number of tracts held by individuals ranges from 1 to 14: 15 persons hold 1 tract only; 8 persons hold 2 or 3 tracts each; 6 hold 4; 8, 5; 10, 6; 5, 7; 2, 8; 4, 9; 2, 10; 1, 11; 1, 12; 1, 13; and 3 hold 14, each. Thus, 31 persons hold 3 tracts or less each; 55 of the 74 holders have 6 tracts or less each; only 6 persons hold more than 10 tracts each.

Individual holdings of cultivated land range from 0.18 acres to 56.21 acres. Of the 74 landholders, 9 have 1 acre or less each; 24 have 3.0 acres or less each; 7 have between 3.1 and 5.0 acres each; 23 have between 5.1 and 10.0 acres each; 7, between 10.1 and 15.0

acres each; 6, between 15.1 and 20.0; 3, between 20.1 and 25.0; 2, between 25.1 and 30.0 acres each. Then there are one holder with 34.41 acres and one with 56.21 acres.

Twenty-three (31 percent) of the 74 landholders are women. They hold 46 (12.6 percent) of the 364 tracts comprising 57.2 acres (9.2 percent) of cultivated land. The women landholders have an average of 2 tracts apiece; the men, 6.2; they have an average of a little less than 2.5 acres of cultivated land per person as compared with slightly more than an average of 11 acres apiece per man. Women thus definitely play a minor role in landholding.

Jose Rey Shije was by far the largest landholder in 1936. He held 14 tracts of cultivated land totaling 56.21 acres plus one plot of not-cultivated of 4.10 acres, making a total of 60.31 acres. Jose was born about 1868. He was a member of the Tobacco clan. He married Luciana Salas of Antelope Washpa. He was a member of the Shima society, and had served as Masewi, lieutenant governor, and governor. He became interested in Mrs. Crawford, the evangelist who figured prominently in the heresy at Sia (see p. 68). Jose died in 1937.

The smallest landholder among the men was Salvador Shije, Jose Rey Shije's brother: he had only one tract of 1 acre. The next was Juan Pedro Pino, born about 1848, Tobacco clan, married Catiye of Antelope Washpa clan, had seven sons and three daughters. He was the head of the Flint society. In 1936 he was, of course, a very old man and perhaps he had handed his land on to his children.

The smallest of all landholders was Harviana Toribio: She had only 1 tract, of 0.18 acre. Of the 23 female landholders 8 had less than 1 acre each. The largest landholder among the women was Juana Rosita Moquino, born about 1872, Tobacco clan, married a Hopi, had three sons and one daughter. She and some of her children joined the heretical movement.

## CUSTOMS OF LANDHOLDING

The following data were obtained from one of my best informants in 1957. All land belongs, in theory at least, to the community, to the pueblo; individuals have only the right to use land which has been assigned to them. In practice, however, it appears that a person actually owns outright any land which has been allocated to him: he may sell or trade it to someone else. Even if he ceases to use it and allows it to remain idle "they won't take it away from him." In theory, the cacique is the ultimate authority in assigning land, but in practice it is the governor who makes the assignments.

When new land has been put under irrigation it is apportioned among the men who worked on the project, made the ditches, etc.; the governor will formally make the assignment. The land is usually divided into a number of narrow tracts so that each holder will have access to the irrigation ditch. On one such occasion the governor made assignments by having one of the men draw lots.

Girls do not have any land, as a rule, before marriage. When a girl marries, her father, or parents, decide whether to give her land and how much. Married women and widows may, and do, own land. When they die it will go to their children or to their brothers and sisters; in no case will the husband inherit. When a man dies his land goes to his sons; the eldest son has the right and the responsibility to distribute the land, but he is under a moral obligation to be just and fair. If a man dies without children, his land will go to his brothers and sisters, not to his wife. If anyone should die without heirs—a virtual impossibility—land held by him would revert to the community for reassignment. There is said to be a great deal of transfer of lands by sale and trade as well as by inheritance; one man acquired the land of another by assuming the latter's debts incurred at a store off the reservation. The lands held on the south side of the river by the heretics, George, Viviano, and Velino Herrera, were taken from them by the pueblo and reassigned to others. Their lands on the north side were not taken from them, however, although the Council wished to do this; the Herrera brothers were allowed to sell them for the value of the inprovements they had put upon them. (See Hawley, Pijoan, and Elkin, 1943, p. 548, for notes on landholding and inheritance at Sia.)

In 1952 the United Pueblos Agency selected Sia as a pilot area for a coordinated program of education for the development of more efficient utilization of agricultural resources. I have no specific information on the way in which this program was carried out, but one of the reports makes some recommendations and supplies some information about progress made by Sia farmers.

First of all, it recommends that the small holdings be consolidated. This would make for more efficient utilization of water resources and make cultivation of the land more economical. But it would run counter to Sia customs of land allocation and inheritance. The report states that "manure, green manure crops, and commercial fertilizers have been used to some extent at Sia."

One of the main obstacles to the development of stockraising, the report states, has been a lack of water. This has led to localized concentrations of livestock and consequent overgrazing and soil erosion. More wells, distributed throughout the range, would improve this situation. The Sia have, in collaboration with the Indian Agency, bought some registered bulls and rams which have improved their herds and flocks, and they have been encouraged to cull out inferior females. Some Sia have adopted elastrators for docking and castrating sheep instead of using the knife. And "many Sias vaccinate for blackleg in cattle and sleeping sickness in horses." The quantities of pigs and chickens raised is inadequate, says the report; more could be raised with the Sia's resources and more should be to improve their economy and diet.

# HEALTH, SANITATION, AND DIET

## HEALTH AND SANITATION

As we have already seen (p. 34), the population of Sia declined greatly after the Spanish conquest, during the great revolt and reconquest, 1680–89, and thereafter, reaching its lowest point about 1880. There can be but little doubt that sickness and inadequate nutrition have played an important part in this decrease. We have noted that a particularly severe epidemic of smallpox ravaged the Pueblo country in 1780–81, striking the nearby pueblo of Santa Ana with especial virulence and no doubt affecting Sia greatly as well. We have also seen that an epidemic of an eye disease hit the Sia in 1897 (p. 60). The report of the Indian Agent in 1899 stated that there had been much sickness at Sia and other nearby pueblos: "small pox and diphtheria being the principal diseases" (Rep. Com. Ind. Aff., 1899, p. 264). We have no other accounts of particular epidemics or occasions of high mortality but our information is far from complete and adequate.

A physician of the U.S. Indian Field Service at Albuquerque reported on health conditions at Sia for 1923 (Halseth, 1924 b, p. 73). "The general health condition at Zia is good," he said; trachoma and bowel disorders were the "most prevalent diseases." Only one case of tuberculosis was found; none of venereal disease.

In 1931 the superintendent of the Pueblos Agency listed trachoma as "the most prevalent disease . . . among the Pueblo Indians" (U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, p. 9876).

The "number of cases of selected communicable diseases and case rates" for the pueblos of New Mexico in 1956, as reported in a program analysis of the U.S. Public Health Service, March 28, 1957, were as shown in table 26.

TABLE 26.—*Communicable diseases, 1956, per 100,000 population*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Pneumonia | 1,874 | (10) | Tuberculosis, nonrespiratory | 78 |
| (2) | Measles | 1,323 | (11) | Whooping cough | 72 |
| (3) | Tuberculosis, respiratory | 634 | (12) | Diphtheria | 36 |
| (4) | Chickenpox | 305 | (13) | Infectious hepatitis | 30 |
| (5) | Mumps | 281 | (14) | Trachoma | 30 |
| (6) | Influenza | 233 | (15) | Scarlet fever and strep sore throat | 30 |
| (7) | Syphilis and sequelae | 227 | (16) | Typhoid | 18 |
| (8) | Gonococcal infections | 162 | (17) | Acute poliomyelitis | 12 |
| (9) | Dysentery, all forms | 78 | (18) | Anthrax | 12 |

We note from table 26 that trachoma is no longer among the "most prevalent diseases." The rates for typhoid and poliomyelitis are low, and smallpox does not appear at all. Sia would probably conform closely to the figures in this table.

Causes of death among the pueblos of New Mexico in 1955 according to the U.S. Public Health Service are shown in table 27.

Table 27.—*Seven leading causes of death, 1955* (*rate per 100,000*)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Accidents | 104.8 |
| (2) | Gastritis, duodenitis, colitis | 67.8 |
| (3) | Vascular lesions affecting central nervous system | 49.3 |
| (4) | Malignant neoplasma | 43.1 |
| (5) | Heart diseases | 30.8 |
| (6) | Tuberculosis | 30.8 |
| (7) | Pneumonia | 18.5 |

Death rates for the New Mexican pueblos in general are not high, according to the U.S. Public Health Service. The rates per 1,000 population in 1955 were: 8.0 for the pueblos, 7.2 for the State of New Mexico, and 9.3 for the United States in general. But death rates per 1,000 live births for pueblo children under 1 year of age are very high (1955): 88.1 for the pueblos, 43.3 for the State of New Mexico, and 26.5 for the United States.

The high death rates for infants are due largely to poor sanitary conditions and to improper diet. Many mothers will permit their babies to eat anything they want, and are able, to eat—such as green fruit or melons. "Bowel disorders, especially among small children . . . is the cause of most of the infant mortality," said a Government physician of Sia in 1924; "the lack of comprehension of proper diet . . . is the main cause of death in these cases" (Halseth, 1924 b, p. 73).

I have observations and notes on matters of health at Sia from time to time beginning in 1928, and in the summer of 1957 I had several extensive discussions with physicians and nurses who had worked with the Sia. The following may be offered as a summary of this topic for the last three decades:

The hospital at the U.S. Indian School at Albuquerque has provided the Sia with medical service for some decades. A field nurse from the Pueblos Agency (since July 1, 1955, from the U.S. Public Health Service) has visited Sia and other pueblos periodically for many years. In recent years a physician has gone to the pueblo about once a month to hold clinic (in the facilities of the Government school there) and to visit patients.

Everyone with whom I have discussed health matters at Sia emphasizes the poverty of the pueblo and its effect upon health. This expresses itself primarily in their diet. The Sia have been badly undernourished continuously for decades. Moreover, their diet is improperly balanced; it is excessively low in proteins, and there is a marked deficiency of vitamin C. For many years the Sia have purchased a portion of their food from traders' stores, at San Ysidro and Bernalillo, but in recent years, with more and better transportation, more purchases are being made in Albuquerque. The amount of food purchased has increased, both absolutely and relatively, over the years, but especially since World War II, owing in large part to an increase in the number of Sia, both men and women, who work for wages outside the pueblo, and to a lesser extent to Government payments to ex-service men. It is difficult to form an adequate estimate of the effect on total diet that these outside purchases have had. It is probable that the Sia are eating more food nowadays than formerly, but whether they have a better balanced and more health-promoting diet is open to question.

The isolation and difficulty of access to Sia in the past have held back progress in medical care. Not only was it difficult formerly for doctors and nurses to get to the pueblo, but it was even more difficult for the Sia to go to Albuquerque for medical treatment. And even in 1955 there were insufficient transportation facilities to meet medical needs.

Another important factor in the health situation at Sia has been, and still was in 1957, widespread ignorance, and lack of appreciation, of all kinds of sanitary measures; e.g., the fact that flies constitute a health hazard, especially to infants, is not appreciated by many. Only one or two households had refrigerators in 1957.

A half-century ago the Sia had to rely almost entirely upon their own folk medicine and the magical ceremonies of their medicinemen and curing societies. And when white man's medicine was gradually made available to them, the Pueblos Agency encountered a great deal of hostility among the pueblos generally to American doctors and medicine. In 1930 the superintendent of the Southern Pueblos Indian Agency reported:

> The greatest difficulty at the present time in health work is our inability to overcome the ancient traditions and superstitions of the older Indians. . . . It seems impossible to render any assistance to some of the older Indians at all. . . . the younger ones seem willing to accept medical service but are prevented from doing so by their parents. We frequently have cases wherein . . . doctors or nurses are refused admittance to the homes of the sick. [It will be necessary to overcome] their beliefs and superstitions of centuries, which of necessity is a very slow proposition. [U.S. Senate, 1932, pt. 19, pp. 9875–9876.]

Much progress in this direction has been made since 1930. Almost all the Sias today (1957) would be willing to accept the white man's medicine, although many would not seek it except in cases of serious illness or injury. The doctor and nurse are welcomed on their periodic visits, and mothers freely bring their children to the clinic held in the school buildings. A wise, mature, and moderate informant told me in 1957 that he felt sure that there was no one in Sia who would oppose the white man's medicine in toto, or as a matter of principle. Medicinemen themselves have sought American medical aid and have gone to Government Indian hospitals. I learned of a case during the 1950's where a medicineman who had been summoned to assist in a critical case of childbirth said that he could do nothing, and advised the woman's relatives to take her to the hospital in Albuquerque without delay. The Indian medicinemen still practice their profession, and the informant cited above said that probably few Sias would refuse to patronize an Indian doctor as a matter of principle. Most of the Sias, it appears, avail themselves of both kinds of medicine.

Snakebite is treated by medicinemen (see p. 158). No one has ever been taken to a hospital for snakebite, said one informant, "but no one has ever died of snakebite." The truth of this statement is vigorously denied by a Public Health nurse, however.

The natural and cultural habitat of Sia, like that of other pueblos, possesses many advantages along with some disadvantages from the standpoint of health. It has an abundance of pure air and sunshine. Excrement or other refuse is quickly dried up in sun and wind. General aridity and drainage conditions do not allow pools to persist within the pueblo; down the hill toward the river, however, there is a perennial marsh. The houses tend to be cool in summer and warm in winter; in the latter season, however, ventilation is sometimes bad. Much dust is blown about by the wind. Many, but far from all, of the houses in 1957 had screened windows and doors.

"There are no latrines" in Sia, Halseth reported in 1924 (1924 b, p. 73). In 1957 there were numerous privies on the periphery of the pueblo, most of them built according to approved specifications. Many, however, were located so far from the dwellings that their owners tended to use nearby streets and alleys during the night. And corrals still serve as latrines.

The rubbish heaps at Sia (see p. 53) contain refuse of all kinds and constitute a health hazard.

In 1957 Sia had an abundant supply of clean, pure water for drinking and household use.

Public Health officials told me in 1957 that Sia had been exceptionally cooperative in recent years in matters of public health and sanitation. They attributed this attitude in large part to the work and influence of Joe Medina, a Sia Indian and onetime governor of the pueblo, who had been for some time on the staff of the Public Health Service as a sanitarian. He had done much to introduce new ideas and practices at Sia. Sanitarians from the Public Health Service go to Sia every summer and spray the streets and alleys about the houses—and inside the houses, also, if their occupants desire, or will permit, it—the privies, refuse heaps, and corrals. They report that bedbugs are numerous in Sia dwellings, some body lice, but very few fleas. "Field mice" (possibly *Reithrodontomys megalotis*) are said to be numerous, but there are virtually no rats (*Rattus norvegicus*). Dogs are vaccinated against rabies. The sanitarians offer instruction and give demonstrations of proper methods of sanitation in the home, including care and preservation of food, techniques of dishwashing, and so on. A young women's club in Sia also is working to improve the health of the community.

Influenza in winter and intestinal ailments in summer were the most common, and probably most serious, sicknesses in Sia during the mid-1950's, according to Government doctors and nurses. I was told in 1957 that tuberculosis had declined appreciably, but was still present. Trachoma had almost disappeared. "They don't get polio and never did." The rate of venereal disease was less for Sia than for neighboring Anglo- and Spanish-American populations.

Data on the pathology of the Sia are meager. A woman physician, Dr. H, who had worked closely with them for a time, told me in 1957 that women were rather prone to a disease or disorder of the hip. Stillbirths and deaths of mothers during childbirth were estimated to be neither more nor less common at Sia than in the population of New Mexico generally. According to some reports, both Indian and Governmental, many Sia women were loath to have their babies in the Indian Service hospital. One reason given was that some who have done so have had no more children. However, Dr. H. estimated that 40 percent of Sia babies in 1957 were born in hospitals. Women were disinclined, also, to take their babies and young children to the Government hospital during the 1950's. One reason is that they do not wish to have their children hospitalized unless they can stay at the hospital with them; this was formerly possible at the hospital at the Albuquerque Indian School, but was not possible at the hospital to which the Sia were sent in the 1950's. Dr. H. told me that a mother had virtually nothing to say about whether her baby should be sent to the hospital or not. Her father would be the principal one to decide this question, and in any event the decision would be made by men. According to a Government physician and a nurse, the Sia do not practice either contraception or abortion.

In the mid-1950's there were three men, brothers, at Sia who were deaf and dumb. Two other men wore hearing aids; one woman was totally deaf but would use no aid. One small girl was very cross-eyed; one child was said to be feeble-minded; another, an epileptic. There have been no albinos in Sia, for many years at least, according to all informants, although they are fairly numerous at nearby Jemez, and albinism has been introduced into Santa Ana through marriage with Jemez women. Mental and nervous diseases were on the increase, according to an Indian Service physician and a field nurse. A Sia man, born about 1921, was once committed to St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D.C. After a year or two he returned to Sia where, apparently, he is not much of a problem either to his family or to the community. He has never married. No informants or Indian Service personnel had ever known of a suicide at Sia.

## DIET

The diet of the Sia is meager in quantity and deficient in some important food elements. Corn (*Zea mays*) was, without doubt, the most important food in pre-Spanish days. Nowadays corn and wheat (*Triticum vulgare*, introduced by the Spaniards) are the most important foods: "bread stuffs being the basis of every meal" (Hawley, Pijoan, and Elkin, 1943, p. 550). Considerable wheat is grown at Sia; it is taken to mills outside the reservation to be ground. Macaroni and, to a lesser extent, rice, purchased at stores, are fairly popular.

Beans (*Phaseolus acutifolius* and *P. vulgaris*) and the broadbean (*Vicia faba*) are grown at Sia, and one would expect them to be eaten in considerable quantity, since they form a large part of the diet of nearby Spanish-Americans and Indian pueblos. Nutritionally they would be very important, since they contribute proteins, and Sia fare is low in proteins. However, the survey by Hawley, Pijoan, and Elkin (1943, p. 552) observes that "most Zia Indians lack . . . beans," and the reports of the Indian Service either fail to list beans at all among crops (1951, 1956) or indicate meager yields: 70 bushels in 1936; 140, in 1949. Some Sia purchase beans from stores or other sources. This is a curious situation for which I have no explanation.

Much chili (*Capsicum annuum*) is grown and eaten, however; it is eaten almost daily and sometimes at more than one meal per day. Some potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) are grown and others are purchased from stores; they are eaten frequently and in considerable quantity. Two kinds of pumpkins are grown: *Cucurbita moschata*, which was cultivated in pre-Spanish times, and *C. maxima*, which the Sia call merikana (American) pumpkin, since it is not indigenous to the region. Watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*) and cantaloup (*Cucumis melo*) are grown and eaten but constitute an insignificant part of Sia diet. Some peaches and apples are grown but not in quantities sufficient to supply the needs of a well-balanced diet.

In the past the Sia, and other Indians in the region, have extensively exploited wild plant resources for food and for materials for other purposes. The use of wild plants for food has undoubtedly decreased in modern times, especially within the last two or three decades with increasing purchases from stores, but we have no adequate data on this point. Among the wild flora of the vicinity the following plants have been used for food: amaranth (*Amaranthus paniculatus*), the seeds of which are eaten and the leaves used as greens (this plant is sometimes cultivated in the Rio Grande pueblos); Rocky Mountain bee plant (*Peritoma serrulatum*), seeds eaten and leaves cooked as greens; cactus, pricklypear (*Opuntia lindheimeri*), roasted in damp sand, eaten with chili; chenopodium, cooked as greens; wild potato (*Solanum jamesii* and *S. fendleri*), eaten raw or cooked, with clay to counteract astringency; piñon nuts (*Pinus edulis*), gathered in considerable quantities, roasted; *Yucca baccata*, fruits are eaten. Wild plants are used as medicines, teas, smoking material, condiments, and for other purposes (White, 1945).

The Sia are exceptional among their pueblo neighbors for their numerous cattle and sheep per capita. They keep chickens and a few turkeys and pigs. They are probably the most diligent hunters of deer and turkey in the region. There are periodic hunts for rabbit, and everyone avails himself of every opportunity to catch wood rats (*Neotoma*), which are highly prized as food. But with all this, the Sia eat very little meat; they cannot afford to. "Meat is the food most desired," say Hawley, Pijoan, and Elkin, (1943, p. 552) "and most difficult to obtain . . . under the most favorable conditions, the people do not expect to have meat more than two or three times a week, and then more as a flavoring than as a food." Owners of livestock are loath to kill a beef or a sheep during hot weather—except at fiesta time—because the meat may spoil; some can be preserved by drying. Small quantities of meat are purchased at stores.

According to figures of the Extension Division of the United Pueblos Agency, which are admittedly rough estimates, the following amounts of meat were butchered for domestic consumption in Sia in 1948 (in pounds): beef, 12,200; sheep, 4,160; pork, 3,800; goats, 420; chickens, 1,500; turkeys, 60; total 22,140 pounds. This would mean an average of approximately 60.7 pounds per day for the pueblo as a whole; 1.17 pounds per day per household; 0.23 pounds per capita per day. Specific information is lacking, but it may be presumed that these weights are gross, i.e., they include bones and other waste. If this is correct, the edible portion would probably not be much more than half of the gross figure.

The figures for 1951 are (in pounds): beef, 22,180; sheep, 4,660; goats, 1,500; pork, 5,275; chickens, 1,080; turkeys, 96. This would amount to about 0.33 pounds gross per capita per day. The amount of meat available to the pueblo in 1951 was 57 percent greater than in 1948, but this does not necessarily mean that a substantial trend of this magnitude has been established.

It is rather surprising to note the high proportion of meat derived from pigs. The percentages of total meat butchered in 1951 are as follows: beef, 64; pork, 15; sheep, 13; goats, 4; chickens, 3; turkeys, 0.28.

Dairy products form an almost negligible part of the Sia diet. There were only three or four milk cows, owned by two families, in Sia in 1948; in 1951 three families had seven head. Milk production in 1948 was 2,400 quarts, according to Indian Agency figures; in 1951, 8,800 quarts. This would mean an average of 6.6 quarts per day for the entire pueblo in 1948; 21.4 quarts in 1951. No butter or cheese is made; butter or margarine may be purchased occasionally, but cheese scarcely ever is (Hawley, Pijoan, and Elkin, 1943, p. 552).

The survey made by Hawley et al. (ibid., p. 549) contains the record of a 3-month (July to October, 1942) charge account (probably at a store in nearby San Ysidro) of a Sia family of three in the "upper income group." Purchases totaled $41.42 for the period. This does not mean necessarily that this family made no purchases elsewhere, or that all purchases were for their own use. However, the figures are instructive. The biggest item was flour, 34.5 percent. Next came lard, 15.4 percent; meat (corned beef and bologna), 7 percent; sugar, 5 percent; beans (pinto), 4 percent; potatoes, 3.6 percent; baking powder and coffee, 2.5 percent each; tobacco, 2.2 percent. It is interesting to note that $1.60 (3.8 percent) was spent for fly spray.

Typical menus in 1943, according to Hawley et al. (1943, pp. 552–553) were as follows: breakfast—fried potatoes and coffee; midday—tortillas or bread, stew with meat, hominy and lard; evening—tortillas, meat stew with hominy, chili and lard, or some vegetable cooked in lard.

Much of the food, even vegetables and bread, is fried in lard or cooked in deep fat. Stews are common. Carbohydrates and fats predominate in Sia diet; proteins are lacking. Other deficiencies are nicotinic acid, riboflavin, ascorbic acid, and vitamin C. The "average dietary of the Zia Indian [is] a possible 2,000 to 2,100 calories daily," according to the survey by Hawley et al. (1943, p. 553).

Pupils in the day school probably have been the primary concern of those who have interested themselves in health and welfare in Sia. The children are required to go to school and attendance is good. Physicians, nurses, and teachers have told me that the children are frequently not dressed warmly enough in wintertime, and that with the onset of cold weather almost all of them have chronic colds, "runny noses," and many of them have low-grade fevers. A considerable number come to school without breakfast, according to nurses and teachers; and the Hawley, Pijoan, and Elkin survey (1943, p. 552) states that "most of the children return" to their homes "at lunch time, but many of them eat nothing at this time."

Midday lunches were instituted as a part of the day-school program in Sia in 1905, but were discontinued after a time. They were reinstituted in 1952, however, and one official at the Pueblos Agency told me that for a time at least, Sia received a larger allotment for school lunches than nearby pueblos because of its greater poverty.

Twenty pupils in the Sia day school were given thorough medical examinations by the Hawley et al. survey (1943, p. 555) with the following results: "Twelve had evidence of progressive dental caries (60 percent of total), nine had marked upper respiratory infections (45 percent), six had pellagra (30 percent), and six had definite stigmata of ariboflavinosis (30 percent). Only four or five children were free of stigmata of some debilitating process."

In 1949 the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico became eligible for assistance from the State Welfare Department on programs to which the Federal Government contributes funds (this aid is, of course, in addition to assistance from the Federal Government obtained through the United Pueblos Agency). These State programs are: (1) old age assistance; (2) aid to dependent children under 18 years of age; (3) aid to the blind (of any age); (4) aid to totally and permanently disabled persons between the ages of 18 and 65; and (5) medical treatment for crippled defective children. Social workers visit families seeking aid and make recommendations.[9]

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[9] In 1957 I was told by an official in the State Welfare Department in Santa Fe that some families at San Felipe had sought and received financial assistance, but that the pueblo had decided that no one should do this. Therefore the governor collected the checks and returned them to the Department.

# COSMOLOGY AND PUEBLO LIFE

The Sia, like every other people, have a traditional ideology that explains the origin and nature of everything—the heavenly bodies, the earth, plants, animals, human beings, and culture—and shows how they are related to one another; their cosmology is the connective tissue, so to speak, of the world—material, social, and spiritual—that they live in. Temporally, reality or existence is divided into two eras: the mythical past in which supernatural beings brought the world to its present shape and condition, and the present real world of ordinary experience, which includes, of course, the memories and tales of grandparents, great grandparents, and so on. In this respect Sia cosmology resembles other nonscientific ideologies.[10]

The earth, according to Sia belief, is square and flat; and, since it has thickness, it may be assumed to be a cube. It is divided into four horizontal layers: the lowest one is yellow; the one above, blue-green (the Keresan language does not distinguish between blue and green; White, 1943 b); the third, red; and the top layer, white (this is the opposite of the order at Santa Ana; White, 1942 a, p. 80; one of these reports is probably an error). Everything in the world above is arranged according to directions. There are six cardinal points: north, west, south, east, zenith, and nadir; sometimes a seventh, the "middle," i.e., the middle of the earth and the whole cosmos, is included also. These points constitute a ritual circuit, in the order just given, which is followed in songs and rituals: one addresses the north first, then west, and so on. Each direction, or cardinal point, has a color and a mountain. And at each lives a weather spirit, a warrior, a woman with an appropriately colored face, an animal, a bird, a snake, and a tree (fig. 12).

*Colors*—North, yellow; west, blue green; south, red; east, white; zenith, light yellow; nadir, black or dark (cf. White, 1942 a, p. 83, for comparative data).

*Mountains*—North, kawáicᴅimα; west, tsιʙínα; south, Daoᴅyumα; east, k'otcanα; zenith, kowaiᴅyumα; nadir, ctíyatcanα.

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[10] The reader is urged to read "Cosmology and Pueblo Life" in my monograph, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico." It presents a much fuller study of this subject than was undertaken at Sia; it also contains copious references to the literature on this subject for other Keresan pueblos. We are justified in believing that the cosmology of Sia is fundamentally like that of Santa Ana and other Keresan pueblos, at least in general outline. Many of the conceptions found at Santa Ana no doubt exist at Sia, also. An acquaintance with Santa Ana cosmology will therefore illuminate, extend, and supplement the briefer treatment of the subject at Sia.

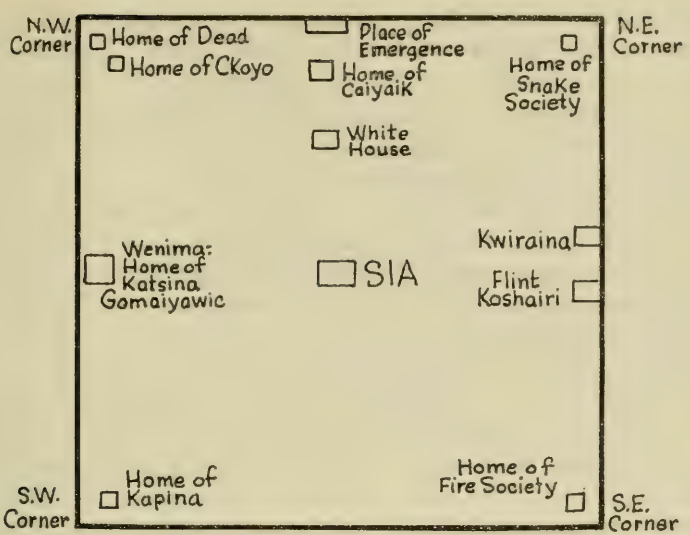
N.W. Corner
Home of Dead
Home of CKoyo
Place of Emergence
Home of CaiyaiK
N.E. Corner
Home of Snake Society
White House
Wenima: Home of Katsina Gomaiyawic
SIA
Kwiraina
Flint Koshairi
S.W. Corner
Home of Kapina
Home of Fire Society
S.E. Corner

Figure 12.—Map of the World.

*Weather spirits*—Ca·kak lives at the North mountain; he sends snow and winter weather. Cuitirawa'nι lives at West mountain; Maiyotcιnα, at South mountain (at Santa Ana he is said to be "gopher like"; ibid., p. 83); Cruwísininawi, at East mountain; Mácᴅiᴅyami, at zenith (at Santa Ana Mastyagama, "foxlike," lives at the zenith; ibid.); Móriᴅyami, nadir (he is "molelike" at Santa Ana); and Gá-ᴅaiᴅya'm° at the middle. Stevenson (1894, pp. 28, 124) gives these names for the respective directions but she translates them as names of trees: spruce, pine, oak, aspen, cedar, and another kind of oak, respectively. Sia cosmology may well assign a tree to each of the cardinal points, but the preceding names are not those of trees (White, 1945).

*Warriors.*—North, Tsámahía; west, Cínohaía; south, Yúmahíya; east, Awahíya; zenith, Béyahára; nadir, Kéyachára. In addition to these are Tsárahóya whose location is "everywhere" and Aíwana for whom no place was designated. Másewi and Oyóyewi, the twin War gods, are the heads of this group; they live in the east, in the Sandia Mountains. These 10 warriors are addressed in "a rain song of the Querranna society" recorded by Stevenson (1894, p. 130). The tsatya gowatcanyi, the present-day helpers of the War chiefs, bear the names of the warriors of the north, west, south, and east, respectively. All 10 of these warrior spirits are "armed; they protect the pueblo against witches (kanadyaiya), sickness, and ill will."

*Women.*—North, kótcιnιnako, "yellow woman"; women in myths are usually referred to as kotcininako; west, mεrιnako, blue-green woman; south, kύkanιnáko, red woman; east, gáciyanáko, white woman; zenith, mo·nanako, dark, or black, woman; nadir, kwictirinako, brown or tan woman; there is no woman for the middle. These women-color-directions are mentioned in a rain song of the Kwiraina (Querranna) society as recorded by Stevenson (1894, p. 130), except that zenith and nadir are reversed.

*Animals.*—North, mo·kaitc (mountain lion); west, kowáhaiya (bear); south, dyu·pi (badger); east, k'ak'ana (wolf); zenith, dyami (eagle); and nadir, maíᴅyup$^{u}$ (shrew). These animals are addressed in this order in the rain song mentioned above (see White, 1942 a, p. 83, for data on other Keresan pueblos).

*Birds.*—North, h'a·ᴅyaiya (western tanager); west, ma·pɛwi (cardinal); south, caiuactυtc (unidentified); east, crówakaiya (magpie); zenith, waiya'ana (unidentified); nadir, ga·wa (a night bird like the Poor-will, cpiyuka, but larger); see White (1947 b, pp. 227–29) for names of birds.

*Snakes.*—I did not obtain their names, but Stevenson (1894, pp. 69, 125–26) lists them as: north, Skatowe (Plumed Serpent); west, Kaspanna; south, Koquaira; east, Quissera; zenith, Huwaka [sky]; the earth, Ya'ai. Only one of these appears in my list of names of snakes (1947 b, p. 239), namely, ya'ai, which is the hognose snake (*Heterodon nasicus*). Perhaps Stevenson's names are ceremonial terms (White, 1944 b).

*Trees.*—I did not obtain their names but, as we have just seen, Stevenson identified them with the weather control spirits.

To return to the "Map of the World": In the middle-north is the Place of Emergence where the people came up from Shipap in the yellow world, the lowest of the four (the place of emergence itself has often been called Shipap, but I understood my informants to say that this name designates the place of origin in the lowest world). Caiyaik, the patron spirit of the Hunters' society, lives in Cloud-robe House (hɛnati, cloud; naBack', robe or "manta"; kai, house) in the north. Also in the north, but between the middle and the northern edge of the world, is Kácikátcutiya (White House), the place in all Keresan origin myths where the people lived after their emergence and where they obtained most of their institutions and other cultural items. The modern pueblo of Sia is located in the center of the Earth, as are all Keresan pueblos (Zuñi, also).

In the northwest corner is Gyitibo-kai (northwest house), the home of the dead. The Ckoyo (Giant) society has its home in the northwest corner, also.

In the middle-west is Wenima, the home of the Katsina, the anthropomorphic rainmakers, and the Gomaiyawιc. Kapina lives in the southwest corner in Buniyana (westerly) Kacikactutiya (White

House). Madjanyi, the "father of the Kapina," lives in the middle-south at Daotyuma Mountain. The Fire society has its home in the southeast. Also in the southeast is a tunnel, or cave, called Mawakana (no English equivalent; the ceremonial chamber of the Fire society is called mawakana) GacDiyats (rainbow) Kai (house). It is here that all the spirits created by Tsityostinako gather at Hanyiko to receive the prayers of the Sia people for rain, crops, and game, and to help them select pueblo officers without quarreling; "some of the old people think that Carlsbad Caverns is this cave." The Flint and Koshairi societies, which are closely related to each other in other Keresan pueblos (White, 1942 a, p. 117) though quite distinct at Sia, have their home in the middle-east. Also in the east, but "a little north of the middle," is Gyitihanyi, the home of Kwiraina. The home of the Snake society is nearby.

The most important deity in Sia cosmology is Tsιtyosti·nako, "Prophesying Woman"; Stevenson (1894, pp. 26 ff.) spells the name Sû'sistinnako, but my pronunciation of this spelling was incomprehensible to my informants. This deity is found at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, p. 82) and at Laguna (Boas, 1925, pp. 221–222, 228; Gunn, 1917, p. 89) also. But everywhere the conception appears to be unclear and even inconsistent. Stevenson treats this deity as a male, but in her emergence myth Sussistinnako is addressed as "our mother" (in Keresen pueblos the cacique, a man, is ceremonially addressed as "mother"). The ending *-nako* means 'woman.' But at Laguna she "looked like a man" (Boas, 1925, pp. 221, 228). Stevenson says that Sussistinnako was a spider; my informants, that Tsityostinako "had the shape of a certain kind of spider."

Tsityostinako is called Prophesying Woman because "she knows [rather than deciding, or determining] what is going to happen"; one informant added "when a person is thinking about doing something that is Tsityostinako expressing herself in him."

Tsityostinako lives at Shipap in the Yellow world, "but she is everywhere, like God," one informant said. She is the creator in Sia cosmology as she is at Laguna (Gunn, 1917, p. 89). She bore two daughters, ʋtctsιtι, the mother of the Indians, and Naotsιtι, the mother of other races and peoples.

The Sun is an important deity, as is the Earth, naiya ha·atsi, 'mother earth.' Virtually everything, at least everything that is significant in the life of the Sia, is a spiritual being. i·niyatsa are spirits in human form; maiya·nyi are spirits in animal form; "the iniyatsa, men, do things for the animal maiyanyi." One informant, and a good one, said: "Any spirit is maiyanyi. Maiyanyi is that which makes a plant grow or an animal live. It includes such spirits as Santiago and Christ. A person becomes a maiyanyi after death."

As we have already seen (p. 49), there is a spirit, Gacítiwa (Gacι, white; -tiwa, man), who lives in the north plaza in Sia. His "home" is marked by a large stone that used to be aboveground, but, because White visitors became numerous it was buried; only a slight elevation now shows where the stone is. At the conclusion of every katsina dance the masked dancers gather around this stone, facing it, and pray. I have not encountered Gacitiwa in any other Keresan pueblo, and one informant said that it was peculiar to Sia. Early in the morning small children go to the north plaza and sprinkle prayer meal to Gacitiwa in order to obtain iyanyi, beneficent supernatural power. Two spirits, mokaitc, mountain lion, and Aiwana, one of the 10 warriors of the directions, are represented by stones in the south plaza (fig. 8).

Much of Roman Catholic theology has been incorporated into the aboriginal cosmology, as we have already seen (p. 65 ff.).

My inquiries elicited no significant information about Bócaiyanyi, to whom Stevenson devotes much space (1894, pp. 59–67). He bears a number of resemblances to Jesus Christ: born of a virgin, performs miracles, is put to death by jealous men, promises to return, etc. At Santa Ana there is an equestrian impersonation of Bócaiyanyi which is indistinguishable from that of the Spanish saint, Santiago (White, 1942 a, pp. 256 ff.). But in a Santo Domingo myth Bócaiyanyi opposes God in contests (White, 1935, pp. 178–79).

A few concepts might be mentioned here. Koʙictaiya is a difficult concept to comprehend. It appears to have various meanings among the Keres, but they might all be reducible to a single coherent conception (see White, 1935, pp. 169–70; White, 1942 a, p. 85, for data from other pueblos and for discussion of same). Stevenson (1894, pp. 32–33) says that kopishtaia is one of the three classes of things created by Sussistinnako; it includes the cloud, lightning, thunder, rainbow peoples, and all animal life not included in the other two classes. One of my most philosophical informants said: "anything that is worshipped is koʙictaiya whether it be in human or animal form. [Even] kanadaiya (witches) are koʙictaiya. Anyone who invents something wonderful, like the airplane or radio, is koʙictaiya." At Acoma the koʙictaiya are impersonated by masked figures (White, 1932 a, pp. 86–88).

There is definitely a conception of supernatural power although I failed to obtain the generic name for it; íanyi is beneficent supernatural power. Medicinemen effect their cures only by means of power which they obtain from the animal doctors, especially the bear, badger, eagle, snake, shrew, and wolf. One of the most effective ways of obtaining and using supernatural power is by singing. Songs are tremendously important. If you comment to an Indian about the excellence of a dance that you have *seen*, he will almost invariably comment upon the songs. They appear to be the most important part of many, if not all, ceremonies. "My friend," an excellent informant once told me, "without songs you cannot do anything."

In one of their adventures Masewi and Oyoyewi protected themselves from intense heat by "throwing shells from their mouths" (Stevenson, 1894, p. 49).

The following is a version of the creation and emergence myth at Sia from one informant. He omitted a number of episodes, as we shall see later. I obtained some of these from other informants, but am not including them here.

### CREATION AND EMERGENCE

In the beginning were Tsityostinako and her daughters, Utctsiti and Naotsiti. There were clouds and fog (he·yac) everywhere. There were four worlds. The bottom world was Yellow. Above this was a Blue-green world. Above that was a Red world. And on top was the White world. Tsityostinako and her daughters were in the Yellow world.

Utctsiti and Naotsiti had a naback' (a "manta," or blanket) and a Djacoma (cane) to create things with. Utctsiti created tiamunyi (cacique) first. She told him that he would have to take care of the people and love them as a mother loves her children. Tsityostinako and her daughters were sitting like tcaiyanyi (medicinemen) in a ceremonial house. Tsityostinako was sitting between her daughters. They spread the naback (manta) on the floor in front of them and put the cane (Djacoma) on top of it. Then, with magic and songs, they created things under the manta. Then they would pick up the manta and see what they had created. Tsityostinako could not be seen, but she was there, and it was she who put ideas into Utctsiti's and Naotsiti's heads. After they had created something, Tsityostinako would explain why it had been created. The daughters would take turns: first Utctsiti would create something, then Naotsiti would.

After they created tiamunyi they created the iariko (the corn-ear fetish) of the Flint tcaiyanyi. It was in the form of a woman. Utctsiti told her what her work would be. When the various beings were created and were told what their duties would be they cried because they saw it would be hard, but they said they would try to do their best.

Shikanyi (the name of a society) was created next and then Shima (a society). Then Koshairi was created in the form of a man; Koshairi Paiyatyamo (youth) was his name. The songs and rituals for each creation were provided as they were made. Kwiraina was created next, in the form of a man, but without an iariko ("he does not have one to this day," interposed the informant). He was called Kwiraina Paiyatyamo. Cikame (a medicine society) was created next and then Ckoyo (or Giant society). Ckoyo was created in the form of a woman. Next they created Caiyaik, the hunter; he was made in the form of mokaitc hatctse (mountain lion man). Katsina and Gomaiyawic, in the form of paiyatyamo, were made next. Kapina came next, in the form of a woman. Crowi (snake) followed, also in the form of a woman; she had the power of the snake. The Fire tcaiyanyi was brought into being in the form of a woman; she had the power of fire. The sicti (common) people were also created. The various yaya (literally 'mothers', but the heads of medicine societies are men) had masks and things to entertain the people. All of these beings were created in the lower world by Utctsiti.

Next came the creation of animals. All were made in pairs, male and female. There were certain special animals: the lion, bear, badger, wolf, eagle, and shrew. They were to help the yaya (mothers, i.e. medicinemen) cure sickness.

They lived in the Yellow world for 4 years. Then it was time for the people to ascend to the upper world. They wondered how they would go up. Early in the fourth morning Tsityostinako, Utctsiti, and Naotsiti got together. They created a hʻa·kak (Douglas spruce, *Pseudotsuga mucronata*) seed and planted it. It sprouted at once and grew rapidly. By sunup it was 4 feet high. They sang songs to make it grow faster. By mid-morning the top of the tree was out of sight. By noontime the tree had reached the next world. They told Koshairi to make the tree firm and strong. He climbed the tree, doing funny [whether funny here means amusing, grotesque, or peculiar and unintelligible, I do not know] things, shaking the branches as he went up. He was painted then as he is nowadays. When he reached the top he saw the Blue-green world. But all there was there on the land was henati (clouds) and heyac (fog). Koshairi came down and told the yayas (mothers) what he had seen. He told them the tree was now ready and strong.

They started to ascend. Koshairi went first. Then came the three mothers and all of the societies and the people in the order in which they had been created. It took only a short time for everyone to get to the Blue-green earth.

They stayed in the Blue-green land for 4 years. The people were fed miraculously by Utctsiti and Naotsiti. Then a henati (cloud, unidentified) tree seed was created and planted. It grew up to the Red world. Kwiraina was sent to try out the tree. He acted funny as he climbed up the tree. He got to the Red world. He thought it was nice. He said to himself: "This is the place my mother sent me to see, so I am making the tree firm." Then he came down and told Utctsiti what he had seen. She thanked him. Then everyone ascended to the Red world, with Kwiraina leading the way.

They stayed in the Red world for 4 years. Everyone did the things—performed the ceremonies—that they had. Then they decided to move on. A seed of the heyac (fog, unidentified) tree was created and planted. They made it grow like they had the other trees. It had great difficulty, though, because in places it encountered solid rock. Koshairi was told to try the tree to see if it was suitable and adequate. He climbed up but after a while he came back and said that the tree had been halted by solid rock. Then they sent Kwiraina up the tree and he, too, came back with the same report. Next they sent Dyupi moti (Badger boy) up the tree; they sent him because he is a good digger. Badger climbed up the tree until he came to the rock. He started digging. He dug through the rock and came to dirt; from there on it was easy. The tree went on up as the badger opened the way. Badger came down. He told the yaya that he was finished, that he had done what they had asked him to do. But, he said the hole was rough and there were some sharp rocks: "Someone might get hurt," he said.

So the mothers sent Tsika (cicada) moti (boy) up the tree. (He had been created in the Red world. When Tsika came to life under the manta, he made the noise like they do now in the summer. They took the naback (manta) off Tsika and told him why he had been created.) Tsika said "I will do my best." So he went up the tree until he came to the hole. He made it smooth. He looked out into the White world; Badger had already told him about the White world and how nice it was. Tsika came back down the tree and told the mothers about the White world.

Then everyone started climbing the tree. These trees were known as wátiyama (ladders). Finally everyone got up to the White world. They liked it so well they decided to live there as long as the earth lasts. The people said this to their mother. Yaya thanked them and said they would live there as long as the world should last.

They heard a big noise like a storm coming behind them from the lower world. Utctsiti wondered who it was. The people wondered, too, and looked around to see who was missing. They missed HoDODO and Wíkori, the "fathers" of Kwiraina. No one had missed them since they had left the first world, but now they were coming along behind. Soon HoDODO and Wíkori reached the White earth. You could hear them coming. They were very angry. You could hear rock falling down as they came up. When they appeared before the people they saw that HoDoDo had something with four points on it. Only Utctsiti knew what it was: it was a deer horn. With that horn the HoDoDo can go through anything; it was strong and hard to punch holes with. Utctsiti asked them why they had fallen behind, but they could not give her a good reason for their delay. So then their mother told them: "Hereafter, as long as you live on this earth, you shall be the way you are. You shall cause the land where you walk to tremble and shake, and with the horn you have you will have the right [and power] to go through anything, even if no one else is able to do it. You shall be always like you are. You will have very limited ianyi (beneficent supernatural power, or blessing) to give to the world." Then Wíkori and HoDoDo calmed down. From there on they went with the rest of the people and the yaya.

The home of HoDoDo (and presumably Wíkori) is northeast of Sia. They are impersonated in the katsina dances; they are side dancers and always come alone. The horn that HoDoDo carries came from Shipap before deer were created.

(The place where the people came out into this world is H‘a’atsι KaDawei—Earth's navel. "The human body is just like the earth. We have a navel like the place where the people came out. Shipap is the place where the creation took place, down in the fourth world below this one, the Yellow world.)

The people built a pa'eima (a temporary place of residence) near the place where they came out. Then they began to migrate toward the south, building pa'eima wherever they stopped for a while. Each of these temporary pueblos had a name. Kacikatcutiya, White House, was the last of the pueblos built before the people reached their present home. They lived at White House for awhile. The people began to increase. The sicti (common people) were given permission to build homes wherever they wished to live. Their mother said they could not return to one of the lower worlds, but must stay here in the White world.

When they got to White House they built houses. The men were told to look around for land suitable for growing wheat, beans, melons, and other crops. When each man had his land Utctsiti began to create seeds of all kinds for them to plant. The people were eager to see what would happen when they planted their seeds. After the seeds had sprouted and the plants were young and growing, the tcaiyanyi performed their ceremonies for them. The shiwana (katsina) were caused to come and bring rain. Everyone believed everything; things grew easier then.[11] It rained almost every day. There was always dancing for rain. In the fall when the squash were ripe they gathered them. They were told how to prepare them to eat. Thus the people learned.

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[11] A revealing expression of pueblo attitude today: "If you believe in our religion and follow the old ways everything will be well. Contrariwise, if you fall away from the old ways and beliefs evils of all kinds will befall us."

But they began to have troubles at White House. Utctsiti saw that her people were not living a good life. She decided to create officers. The first one she created was Macta hotcanyi. His duties were like those of Masewi and Oyoyewi (the War chiefs) today. But this officer did not do right so Utctsiti punished him by turning him into a rat. The next to be created was Opi hotcanyi (Warrior chief). He was given the right to go to the tcaiyanyi (medicinemen) and ask them to help when anything was needed, to pray for rain or anything else that was needed.

The people increased in numbers. Soon there were not enough crops to support them. Then Utctsiti went to work again with her manta and created all kinds of game animals. She gave to each kind its life, its habits, and its place to live. Then the men of White House were called out to see the game.

The people continued to increase, and they kept on having troubles. There was a young woman, the daughter of the cacique. She was very industrious and very beautiful, but she would not have anything to do with men. They would go to her but she would always refuse them. This was the work of Tsityostinako and Utctsiti. One morning, very early, she was grinding corn. About Gyitsityuye (mid-morning) she felt tired so she lay down near an opening in the wall of the house. As the sun climbed higher in the heavens his rays came in through the hole in the wall and fell upon her. After a while she felt rested and went back to her grinding bins.[12]

Within a few months the girl began to grow big and she wondered why. And everyone else wondered, too. Her father and mother begged her, almost forced her, to tell them how she had become pregnant for they knew that no man had had contact with her.

The time for delivery drew near. But before the baby was born the girl's parents drove her out of the house, naked, because they were so ashamed and angry with her. The girl left the pueblo, going toward the west from White House. But before she left she called her four turkeys to her; she loved these turkeys as her own heart.[13] The girl went to the ash pile on the west side of the village; the turkeys were following her. When they got there one of the turkeys said to her, "Mother, hit me on the neck, hard." "Why should I do that?" the girl asked, "I love you. I shouldn't hurt you." But the turkey said, "Do as I ask." So the girl hit the turkey lightly with a small stick. The turkey said, "Please, hit me harder." This time the girl hit the turkey harder. The turkey stumbled and coughed up a manta. Kotcininako (Yellow Woman; a generic term for women in myths) was pleased to see the manta. The turkey told her to put the manta on. Then the second turkey told the girl to hit him. The girl did not want to, but finally she hit the turkey hard and the turkey coughed up a woven belt (hoᴅiᴅya'nyi). They went through the same procedure with the third turkey, who produced moccasins and leggings, and with the fourth turkey, who coughed up strings of beads. So now Kotcininako was completely and beautifully dressed.

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[12] The episode of the twin War gods, born of a virgin and sired by the Sun, is recounted in the origin myths in all the Keresan pueblos.

[13] This episode about the turkeys is not commonly associated with the birth of the War twins among the Keres. But see the Santo Domingo myth, "Turkeys Befriend a Girl" (White, 1935, pp. 191–194), in which the same events befall an ordinary girl in a modern pueblo.

Kotcininako kept on going toward the west, where she knew not. After awhile she met an old lady who was sitting down, doing her hair. The old lady called Kotcininako by name, asking her "Where are you going? You shouldn't be traveling in your condition." "My parents have driven me out of our home," the girl told her, "because I could not tell them how I became with child." "Yes, I know," the old lady said, "later on you will learn who caused your trouble. But now you are welcome in my house. Come in!" This old lady was Tsityostinako. She walked a little way and came to a small hole in the ground. "This is my home," she said. But the girl looked at the little hole and said "How can I go in there? It is too small." But the old lady said, "Just walk in." When Kotcininako stepped in the door it became larger. She went in; the old lady followed. She put the girl in a room by herself. On the fourth morning the girl gave birth to twin boys. On the fourth morning after they were born the old lady took the boys out at sunrise to introduce them to the world and to the sun. She named the boys Masewi and Oyoyewi.

Meanwhile at White House things were becoming worse. The people were doing bad things. That is why Masewi and Oyoyewi were brought into the world, to control the people.

The twins went to K'oaik υtc (place of the sunrise) to see their father, the Sun.[14] Then they returned to White House. There were some monsters (ckoyo) in the countryside about White House. They were catching people and eating them.[15]

Naotsityi began to show her powers. She had different kinds of tcaiyanyi; she was doing her work. Naotsityi invented things more wonderful than those that Utctsiti had created. Naotsityi created paper and it could talk to her and to her people. Utctsiti could not talk to paper and it would not talk to her. She felt bad about it and began to cry. But Tsityostinako was always with Utctsiti. She told Utctsiti what the paper was saying.

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[14] In Keresan mythology the Sun subjects the boys to a number of tests to determine whether they really are his sons. They pass the tests, the Sun accepts them, and sends them on their way with great powers. My informant omitted all this.

[15] Cycles of stories about the adventures of the War twins with the ogres, and their visits to inhospitable pueblos which they turn into stone, common in Keresan mythology, were omitted by my informant. However, he launched into another cycle about the contests between Utctsiti, the mother of the Indians, and her sister, Naotstiti, the mother of other races.

The sisters, Utctsiti and Naotsiti, decided to have a number of contests to see which one had the greater power. One would create something and challenge the other to guess what it was. One of Naotsiti's creations was a cross (which identifies her with the Whites and with the Christian religion). Utctsiti challenged her sister to tell which way a bird was going by looking at its tracks in the dust. Naotsiti failed because the bird was djacka (road runner, *Geococcyx californianus*), who has two toes pointing forward and two pointing backward. Naotsiti had an army of sandaro (Sp. soldado; soldier). They were to have a contest with the Indians, shooting at a cottonwood tree trunk. The soldiers shot with guns; the Indians, with lightning. The Indians won, but they gave Naotsiti lightning to take up to heaven. The sisters stood together before sunrise to see upon whom the sun's rays would fall first when it came up. Crówakaiya (magpie, *Pica pica*) flew up and kept the sun's rays from falling upon Naotsiti so that Utsctsiti could win. At the end of the contests Naotsiti ran away, but Utctsiti caught her. Naotsiti turned herself into homaoka (no English equivalent obtained) cka'wac (wood rat, *Neotoma*). In Stevenson's version, Utctsiti killed her sister, took out her heart, and cut it to pieces which became wood rats (1894, p. 34).

On August 15, the day of the feast for Santa Ana's patron saint, Utctsiti helps Naotsiti. Each society has prayers for her. "Our Father" is one of these. There is a cross in each society's house to show that Naotsiti is helping.

The cosmology of the Sia explains their world and makes it intelligible to them. They know how everything came into being and what its purpose and function are. And, knowing this, they know how to behave with reference to the gods, spirits, plants, and animals, and so on; they know what to do in all kinds of situations. Cosmology is a guide to conduct as well as an explanatory device.

But it is not the external world alone that is set forth and explained by these myths; the social and ceremonial world of the Sia themselves is accounted for also. Tiamunyi (cacique) was created to take the place of Tsityostinako, the Mother of All, and of Utctsiti, the mother of the Indians. It is his responsibility to take care of the people and work (i.e., ceremonially, magically) for them; he is to be father and mother to them. The Indians received corn, their chief means of subsistence, from their mother Utctsiti. She made it out of bits of her own heart and gave it to her people. "This corn is my heart," she said, "and it shall be to my people as milk from my breasts"

(Stevenson, 1894, p. 39). This is why the Indians today have their corn-ear fetishes (iarikos): they represent their mother.

The creation myth tells how the Sia got their societies and how the medicinemen got their powers. The offices of War chiefs were instituted to take the place of the War god twins, Masewi and Oyoyewi. Even their clan organization is accounted for.

Thus the external world and their own sociocultural world are each made comprehensible, and the relationship between the two is set forth and made clear. And, finally, the Sia are provided with a comprehensive guide to conduct: they know what to do in every kind of situation. They know how to live like the Sia.

# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

## OFFICERS

It is impossible, of course, to determine precisely what officers Sia, and other pueblos, had in pre-Spanish times. There is every reason to believe, however, that each pueblo had a head, or chief, and that he had both religious and political functions. We may be sure, also, that there was a War chief. The heads of the medicine societies may well have exercised political functions; there is reason to believe that they did. And there may have been some subordinate officers who served as helpers to the chief priests.

When the Spaniards entered the pueblo country they caused the Indians to designate certain men as officers through whom they could deal with the pueblos politically. In 1620, according to Bandelier (1890, p. 200), a royal decree of the King of Spain formally established certain offices among the pueblos. But before this, at least one Spanish explorer, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, found it expedient to establish certain offices. In his expedition of 1590–91 he visited San Felipe or Santo Domingo, or both, and a number of Tewa villages; he did not go to Sia or Santa Ana, though, so far as the record shows (Hull, 1916, pp. 328–29; Bandelier, 1892, p. 123). When he had entered a pueblo, "the Indians swore allegiance to the king and Sosa established there a regular government, appointing from among their number governor, *alcalde*, and *alguazil*. In all of the inhabited pueblos which Sosa subsequently visited like ceremonies were repeated . . ." (Hull, 1916, p. 324).

In 1692, during the reconquest after the Revolt of 1680, Vargas visited Cerro Colorado—near Santa Ana—where Indians from a number of pueblos had sought refuge, and in a low room "elections were held" under the direction of Vargas "for a cacique, his lieutenant, an alcalde, a fiscal, a constable, and a war captain, to all of whom Vargas presented the appropriate emblems of office ("*los bastones y barros*") and enjoined them in a solemn ceremony of the obligations to fulfill their duties" (J. B. Bailey, 1940, p. 105).

In 1694, Vargas visited Sia, where he was welcomed by the Indians who had returned to their homes. He placed a missionary, Fray Juan Alpuente, in charge of the pueblo. He then told the Indians that they must elect officers, but they told him they had already done so. "The officials were consequently given their oaths and symbols [canes] of office" (ibid., p. 178). Vargas lists the officers as follows: 1 governor, or cacique; 1 lieutenant governor; 1 alcalde; 1 alguacil; a captain of the pueblo; 7 War captains; and 4 fiscales. He lists each officer by name: Each had a Spanish first name, but the second (last) name appears to be Indian (ibid., p. 178, n. 54).

One of the shortcomings of Stevenson's study of Sia is that we cannot identify with precision, from her account, the officers of that pueblo in the 1880's. She mentions a Tiamunyi and his "vicar," or assistant; two war priests, a War chief and his assistant; a governor and lieutenant governor; and a magistrate and his deputy. The War chief, governor, and magistrate and their respective assistants were appointed yearly; the others served for life (Stevenson, 1894, pp. 16–19). Her Tiamunyi is, of course, the head of the pueblo, the cacique; his "vicar" is, no doubt, a tcraikatsi (see below). There were only two War chiefs in Sia during the course of my study. I have discussed the matter of the two war priests and two War chiefs listed by Stevenson with a good Sia informant. He stated positively that when the Opi, or scalp takers, society was still in existence it had two heads who were called Opi hotcanyi (chiefs). They represented Masewi and Oyoyewi, the twin war gods. They served for life. In addition to the Opi hotcanyi, there were two War captains appointed yearly by Tiamunyi. Stevenson's war priests were then, without doubt, the Opi hotcanyi. They ceased to exist with the extinction of the Opi society, leaving the annually appointed War captains as the representatives of Masewi and Oyoyewi.

Stevenson's governor and his lieutenant correspond with my own findings. But I cannot identify her "magistrate and his deputy," unless they be the fiscale and his lieutenant; she does not mention these latter by name.

During the course of my study, 1928–57, Sia had the following officers: 1 Tiamunyi, or cacique; 3 tcraikatsi, who are the Tiamunyi's assistants; 2 war chiefs; 4 gowatcanyi, helpers of the war chiefs; 1 governor, or "Dapop;" 1 lieutenant governor, Dapop teniente; 4 capitani, or assistants to the governor; 1 fiscale mayor, a church official; and 1 fiscale teniente. All these officers, with the exception of Tiamunyi and the tcraikatsi, are appointed by the Tiamunyi. The term of office is usually for 1 year, but sometimes Tiamunyi asks the officers to serve another term instead of appointing new officers. All appointments are made without regard to clan affiliation.

In a sense, the heads of the sacred and secret societies—or at least the more important of them—might be counted as officers inasmuch as they exercise considerable influence in the government of the pueblo. Tiamunyi is not supposed to appoint the head of any society to a pueblo office, although other members may be chosen. This might be interpreted as indicating that the heads of societies are already pueblo officers. But informants never include them in a discussion of pueblo *officers*, and we believe they are not generally regarded as such. They are thought of as heads of secret societies who, however, may have functions extending beyond the limits of their respective groups.

Finally, there are some functionaries, such as the sacristan, drummers, etc., who are not officers, properly speaking. But, because they are persons with special functions within the pueblo, I shall include them at the end of my list of officers. I shall now describe the various offices in turn.

### TIAMUNYI

The Diamvnyi (tiamunyi; see White, 1942 a, p. 96, for a comparative discussion of this term) is also called by the Spanish term "cacique" or *casik*, as informants usually pronounce it. Tiamunyi is the head of the social structure of the pueblo. But he is more of a priest than a chief; his office is more sacred than secular. During the emergence of the people from the lower world, Utctsiti, the mother of the Indians, chose Tiamunyi to be her representative in this world. As a consequence, Tiamunyi is commonly addressed as yaya (mother) by the Keres and is regarded as "the mother and father of all the people."

The principal duty of the Tiamunyi is to "watch over his people," to fast and pray for the welfare of the pueblo; in short, to serve as the principal means by which the people may benefit from the supernatural beings and powers of the world. The Tiamunyi, according to Keresan custom, is not supposed to work in his fields or to gather his own firewood; the people of the pueblo, under the direction of the War chief, are supposed to do this for him. This is to allow him to devote himself wholly to his religious duties. One informant stated that this custom, or rather, rule, still holds (1957), but another said that Eliseo Aguilar is obliged to do both. This may be because he is merely an acting, not a full-fledged, Tiamunyi. In 1941 the people of the pueblo, under the direction of the War chief, built a house for Juan Shije, the Tiamunyi at that time. Stevenson (1894, p. 17) says that the Tiamunyi of her day engaged in hunts and worked in his fields and that such conduct was deplored. One of my informants opined that the young man called Tiamunyi by Stevenson was merely a tcraikatsi, acting as Tiamunyi. This seems probable since Stevenson (1894, pp. 16–17) says that the Tiamunyi and his vicar both died at about the same time and a young, untrained man was placed in the office.

The cacique should hold himself somewhat aloof from the daily and mundane affairs of the pueblo; he is supposed to concentrate on spiritual affairs. He should take no part in any quarrels that may occur; in fact, such things should be excluded from his notice. Everyone should always treat the cacique with kindness and respect. One should always be careful never to do anything that would offend him or say anything that would hurt his feelings. On rare occasions when he attends a meeting of the council one should be careful not to use any rough language that might offend him. On the other hand, the Tiamunyi should have only kindly and solicitous feelings toward his people; "he should never be hateful toward them." Should the cacique be remiss in his duties, or conduct himself in a manner unbecoming to his high office, he could be disciplined or punished. It would be the war captain's duty to do this, but he would undoubtedly consult the heads of important societies, such as Flint, Giant, and Fire societies, and be guided by their advice. Informants knew of no instance in which a Tiamunyi had been disciplined, however. Stevenson (ibid., p. 17) states that the Sia "were chagrined" by the unseemly way their young Tiamunyi behaved, but does not say that they took any disciplinary action.

Tiamunyi has a staff of office. According to Stevenson (ibid., p. 17), it is a "slender staff crooked at the end." One of my informants called it hatcamʋnyi k'ayo·k' ᵃ, which he translated "prayerstick bent." Another said that it was "a yapi [staff] something like Masewi's." He also has "some kind of yaya [mothers]," i.e., fetishes of some kind, but informants could, or would, give no information concerning them.

Tiamunyi watches the sun rise, but informants differed on the details. One stated positively that he observed the sun every morning, throwing petana to him with a prayer as his face appeared above the horizon. Another said that he makes his observations only to determine the times for the summer retreats (kacaidime), the fall harvests, and the solar ceremonies of hanyiko and hanyikikya. And a third added that Tiamunyi "watches the sun during Christmas week so that he can say 'goodbye' to it as it leaves this world on December 31 and to greet the new sun which arrives on January 1st." At Sia the sun comes up over the Santa Ana mesa, which is marked with notches and prominences by means of which the course of his risings can be noted and followed with the eye. Tiamunyi always stands on a spot a little to the west of the rock that covers the entrance to the underground chamber (see p. 53).

The hotcanitsa is the Tiamunyi's official residence, or office. His sacred paraphernalia, whatever thay may be, are stored here, and it is here that important meetings, called by Tiamunyi, are held. Corn, raised on community land under the direction of the War chief, and meat from communal hunts, are stored in the hotcanitsa (figs. 8, 9). Tiamunyi and the tcraikatsi issue these stores as they are needed for ceremonial use. Also, Tiamunyi may issue corn to any family in dire need.

Every year, late in January or early in February, tiamunyi calls for a general curing ceremony for the whole pueblo.

When the Tiamunyi dies, the mortuary ceremony for him should be performed by the Flint society (but the informant could not remember what actually was done when cacique Juan Shije died in 1943).

When Tiamunyi dies he is succeeded by the first tcraikatsi, and then another tcraikatsi is chosen. The cacique must, or should, be a member of one of the following clans: Sia Corn, Acoma Corn, Sia wacpa (saltbush, *Atriplex canescens*), Antelope wacpa, or Coyote. (See section on "Clans" for an explanation of the distinctions between Sia and Antelope wacpa and Sia and Acoma Corn clans.) One informant said that the office should rotate among these clans, that a Tiamunyi should not be succeeded by a clansman. Stevenson (1894, p. 16) says the office rotated among Corn, Coyote, and "a species of cane" clans until the last named became extinct.

The ceremony of installation must be performed either by the Flint society or by Koshairi (one informant said Kapina also could do this); the Flint would officiate at one installation, Koshairi at the next one. No account of the installation ceremony could be obtained, but one informant said that a part of it consists in dressing the new cacique in a woman's ceremonial costume, including a white manta with an embroidered border. This is done because he represents Utctsityi, yaya (mother) Tiamunyi. This costume, which is quite expensive, is purchased by all the families in the pueblo. After the ceremony it is taken outside the village by Flint medicinemen (or, presumably, by Koshairi, if they should be the officiating society) and buried as an offering to yaya Tiamunyi; only the medicinemen know where it is buried. Stevenson offers a brief account of the installation ritual, obtained, apparently, from an informant.

In about 1890, according to Stevenson, the Tiamunyi was a young man and a member of the Coyote clan. His "vicar," i.e., successor, was a member of the Corn clan (ibid., p. 16). Accounts of informants vary somewhat, but the following seems to have been the probable course of events. In 1915 there was no Tiamunyi at Sia, and only one tcraikatsi, namely, Juan Shije of the Sia Corn clan. The last tiamunyi prior to 1915, probably was Gácitiwa, Juan Ramo Shije (born about 1860), the husband of Dominga (íˑtiye; No. 98 on the 1904 census), who was the mother of Juan Diego Shije (or Herrera), Indian name, yeˑsiro. Another informant, however, said that the cacique who preceded Juan Shije was Gyeiro, who also was said to be the husband of Dominga (íˑtiye). It would seem that Gácitiwa and Gyeiro are one and the same person; both are said to have belonged to the Coyote clan. But Dominga was Coyote clan, so we either have a case of intra-clan marriage or an error. It may be that Gácitiwa, or Gyeiro, was

Tiamunyi in Stevenson's day, and that Juan Shije was his tcraikatsi; the clan affiliations correspond. Katyetiwa, Cochiti wacpa clan, and Felipe Plata (born about 1819), the father of Lucia Salas (Plata; No. 110 on 1904 census), also are said to have been former caciques.

In 1916 three tcraikatsi were chosen. A year or two later Juan Shije was formally installed as tiamunyi. According to my 1941 data, Juan Shije was serving as tiamunyi at that time, and Eliseo Aguilar, Acoma Corn clan, Jose P. Pino, Antelope wacpa, and Jose Gachupin, Sia wacpa, were first, second, and third tcraikatsi, respectively. Juan Shije died in September 1943, and Eliseo Aguilar became acting tiamunyi. My 1952 notes give Eliseo Aguilar as acting tiamunyi and Jose P. Pino as tcraikatsi; no mention was made of the other two tcraikatsi. In 1957 I was told that, in 1954, the acting tiamunyi and his tcraikatsi chose three young men to become tcraikatsi: Avaristo Medina, Coyote clan and son of Lorenzo Medina; Vicente Shije, Sia Corn, son of Cecilio Shije; and Juan I. Medina, Cochiti wacpa clan, son of Jose Vigil Medina. All were ex-service men. At first these young men accepted the nomination, but later their respective families objected so strenuously that they withdrew. This caused much discussion, some of it rather bitter, in the pueblo. As things stood in the summer of 1957, therefore, Eliseo Aguilar was still acting tiamunyi, and Jose P. Pino was serving as tcraikatsi.

There has been much talk over the years of elevating Eliseo Aguilar to full status as tiamunyi, but this has not been done because, it is said, both of the societies who alone are qualified to install a tiamunyi, namely, the Flint and Koshairi (and possibly Kapina) societies, have "lost," i.e., forgotten, some of the essential rituals. There has been some talk, also, of calling upon a Flint or a Koshairi society from a neighboring Keresan pueblo to assist in installation, but this has not been done. At this point, 1957, it seems doubtful if Sia will ever have a full-fledged tiamunyi again.

As indicated above, a tiamunyi is succeeded by the first ("right hand") tcraikatsi; and new tcraikatsi are chosen by the acting tiamunyi and the tcraikatsi. But, I feel sure, the War chiefs and the heads of some of the societies, especially the Flint, Koshairi, Giant, and Fire societies, would have a voice in the selection of successors to tiamunyi, the highest office in the pueblo.

Tiamunyi may be a member of one of the societies; Eliseo Aguilar is, in fact, a member of the Fire and Kwiraina societies.

### TCRAIKATSI

Little need be added to what I have already said about the tcraikatsi (see White, 1942 a, p. 96, n. 4, for a comparative discussion of this term). They are the Tiamunyi's assistants; they help him with his work and advise him. They are ranked in order of seniority, but do not have individual names as the War chief's gowatcanyi do.

### WAR CHIEFS

As previously mentioned, Stevenson listed both War priests and and War chiefs at Sia in 1890. There are only two War captains now. They represent the twin War gods and are usually called Masewi and Oyoyewi, although they are sometimes called Tsiakiya and Tsiakiya teniente; in English, informants usually refer to them as War chiefs, or captains. The War chiefs are chosen annually, without regard to clan affiliation, by the cacique. Each has a staff of office (yapi): a stick very much like an arrow shaft, painted dark brown. He receives this staff at the time of installation, and returns it to cacique upon expiration of his term of office, to be passed on to his successor. In the myths about Masewi and Oyoyewi, the former is the elder and is represented as being shrewder and having more initiative and aggressiveness than Oyoyewi. In pueblo life today Masewi is so much more important than Oyoyewi that the latter appears to be little more than Masewi's helper.

As we have noted, tiamunyi holds himself aloof from pueblo affairs so that he may address himself more fully to spiritual matters. It is the responsibility of Masewi and his assistant, Oyoyewi, to administer pueblo affairs insofar as they involve the aboriginal culture (or what is considered aboriginal) and those affairs that are communal in character rather than private and personal (see "Government"). They have virtual charge of almost all ceremonies held in the pueblo, at least nominally. In many cases a dance or ceremony is held at the initiative or request of Masewi. In instances where the initiative comes from some other source, and where the responsibility for the conduct of the dance or ceremony rests in other hands, the permission of the War chief must be obtained, and the dance or ceremony is held within his jurisdiction, so to speak. On some occasions at least, Masewi must obtain permission from the head of the singers, the Madaiko nawai, before he can put on a dance; if the head declines the dance cannot be held. On the other hand the head of the singers may initiate a dance, but he must obtain the permission of Masewi before the dance can be held. If a group wishes to put on an impromptu dance of a nonsacred nature, merely for recreation, such as a Comanche dance, or a very amusing dance in which Navaho men and women were impersonated by male Sia dancers—which I witnessed in Sia in the fall of 1954—they do not need to obtain Masewi's permission.

Stevenson (1894, pp. 18–19) states that "It is the duty of the War chief to patrol the town during the meetings of the cult societies and to surround the village with mounted guardsmen at the time of a dance of the Katsuna." This latter function has doubtless been continued since Stevenson's day, although my notes do not specifically say so.

The War chiefs do not transact any affairs with non-Indian outsiders: Anglo- and Spanish-Americans, the Roman Catholic Church, the U.S. Indian Service, and other like organizations. Nor are they concerned with the private life of individuals or households except insofar as it may affect the pueblo. Customs should be observed, and it is the duty of the War chief to encourage observance by advice and exhortation; but he cannot go farther except in cases of witchcraft; it is his duty to try persons accused of witchcraft and to execute those convicted.

Masewi calls a meeting, of the council or any other grouping that may be appropriate to the occasion, whenever he wants to discuss anything pertaining to his office. If the matter has to do with religion, the meeting is held in the hotcanitsa; if with hunts, in a kiva; nonsacred, relatively unimportant meetings are held in the War chief's residence.

The War chiefs have charge of the kivas; they see that they are kept in repair and enforce the rules with regard to their use. The communal farm is worked under the direction of the Masewi. And, as previously noted, a house was built for tiamunyi in 1941 under the direction of the War chiefs. Masewi and Oyoyewi have charge of communal hunts.

The horses of Sia used to be herded communally under the direction of the War chief; the practice was continued until about 1910.

> Every Saturday night the stock is driven into these [corrals] and herders are changed. Up the rocky sides come lines of horses, burros, mules, and cattle in headlong precipitation, hurrying to escape long whips carried by the herders and by the awaiting members of the community. . . . The herders appear in the village with the necks of their horses garlanded with wood-rats [Neotoma] and other game which arrows and clubs have secured. Sunday, therefore, is day of feasting. [Poore, 1894, p. 431.]

Stevenson (1894, pp. 25–26) reports that "the war chief designates the six houses which are to furnish the herders every Saturday for the weekly roundup. They set out Saturday, usually return Sunday morning. They bring back many Neotoma which are eagerly received, cooked and eaten as a delicacy."

I have a somewhat fuller discussion of War chiefs and their duties in "The Pueblo of Santa Ana," (1942 a, pp. 98–105). I believe that Sia and Santa Ana are very much alike with respect to this office.

### WAR CHIEFS' HELPERS

War chiefs' helpers are called gowatcanyi, or tsatya gowatcanyi. Gowatcanyi is plural; gaotcanyi, singular. There is no English equivalent for this term. Tsatya is said to mean "outside" (cf. White, 1942 a, pp. 102–103). There are four such helpers. They bear the following titles: Tsamahíya, Cinohaiya, Yumahiya, and Awahiya. As we noted in "Cosmology and Pueblo Life," these are the names of spirits of the cardinal points: north, west, south, and east, respectively. The gowatcanyi are appointed by the cacique, but not every year; they usually serve for 4 years: "serving as tsatya gowatcanyi is a good way to learn how to serve as war captain." But it does not necessarily follow that because a man has served as gaotcanyi he will eventually be appointed War captain, and, conversely, one might be appointed War captain without having served as gaotcanyi.

The gowatcanyi are the helpers of the War chiefs. They run errands for them, see that orders are carried out, and in some cases "act for" the war chiefs.

### GOVERNOR

(Pl. 5)

The governor is called Da·pop. The office of governor is of Spanish institution, as we have seen, and it would seem that Dapop would be a non-Keresan word, but we do not know its derivation; its English equivalent, so far as we know, is "governor."

The governor is appointed yearly, without regard to clan affiliation, by cacique. He has two staffs of office. They are canes of European culture. Both have silver heads, and both are varnished in a very dark hue. One cane is said to have been given to the governor "long ago by the King of Spain." The other was presented to the governor by "A. Lincoln, President of the United States, 1863," and is so inscribed. Each cane has a few short ribbons, each of a different color, tied to it near its head. The governor carries both canes when he appears in a ceremony or upon some other official occasion; when not in use they are usually hung upon a wall, in full full view, in his residence. The canes are passed on from one governor to the next at the time of installation.

The governor's duties fall into two categories: (1) He has charge of the pueblo's relations with non-Indian outsiders, such as Spanish- and Anglo-Americans, the Roman Catholic Church, the United States Government, and organizations within contemporary American society; and (2) of social affairs of the people of Sia that lie outside the native religion. The War chief has jurisdiction over pueblo social affairs that lie within the context of the aboriginal religion; the the governor has supervision over matters in nonreligious contexts. It is the governor's job to "preserve law and order" within the pueblo in situations that do not come within the jurisdiction of the War chief. It is his duty to keep liquor out of the pueblo. He may intercede in a quarrel or feud within the community, and he tries cases brought before him. He may order whipping as punishment. A plaintiff, upon bringing a case to the governor, may ask that the defendant be given so many lashes or fined so many dollars; the governor tries the case, hearing witnesses, and arrives at his decision. In former times, one informant told me, the governor had a horsewhip which was handed on to him, along with the canes, at his installation, but this practice has long since been discontinued. The governor is, however, usually reluctant to intercede in a quarrel or to punish anyone for an infraction of the rules. This is due in part to the general pueblo attitude of minding one's own business and letting the other fellow behave as he sees fit, and partly to the fact that someone may "hold it against him" after he has gone out of office. However, there has been considerable pressure upon the governor—and it is my impression that this pressure has been increasing—to assume more responsibility and to exercise greater authority. This has come from the increased and intensified relationships that the pueblo has with outside organizations, and outsiders tend to regard the governor as a responsible official and to hold him responsible for the pueblo.

There is only one instance in which the governor, as such, has anything to do directly with the native religion. This is in his capacity of superintendent of irrigation. Sia is, presumably, too small to have a "ditch boss," like Santa Ana. So this duty devolves upon the governor; it is he who takes charge of the ditch work, calling on the men of the pueblo to work on this communal enterprise. But at one point, when the ditches have been cleaned and made ready for the season's use, the governor calls upon a medicine society to perform a ritual for the ditches.

The governor has four assistants, called capitani, who are appointed annually by tiamunyi. They help the governor whenever he needs and can make use of them; they carry messages, run errands, and so on. The duties and responsibilities of the governor have increased during the last decade or so, and it seems likely that they will continue to do so in the future. A recent innovation is the appointment of an administrative, or executive, committee by the governor, to assist in the management of pueblo affairs. He has also appointed a pueblo treasurer to take care of finances.

### FISCALES

The Indians pronounce this Spanish word ʙickari or ʙickali. There are two: Fiscale mayor and fiscale teniente. They are appointed yearly by tiamunyi. They have charge of the Roman Catholic church within the pueblo, and deal with the Catholic priests when they come to the pueblo for church services. If a couple wishes to be married by the Catholic priest they tell the fiscale and he makes the arrangement with the priest. When the time comes, fiscale, carrying his yapi, will escort the couple to the church and, after the ceremony, to their home. Fiscales also have charge of a portion of the mortuary ceremony. And, according to one informant, they may try cases of adultery. They have no helpers of their own as do the fiscales of Santa Ana and Santo Domingo; when they need assistance they are free to call upon the governor's helpers.

### SACRISTAN

The sacristan is, in a sense, an official of the pueblo, but he is not appointed by tiamunyi. The reason why tiamunyi appoints the fiscales and not the sacristan is that the former are *pueblo officials* who negotiate with an outside, non-Indian organization: the Catholic church. The fiscales have no religious functions at all. The sacristan, on the other hand, is a functionary of the Catholic church; he has religious functions. He assists the priest when he comes to Sia, and, in the absence of the priest, he performs church services himself. It would not be fitting, therefore, for the cacique to appoint such an official. A person becomes a sacristan of his own initiative and will, and on the acquiescence and acceptance of the community. He serves for life, or as long as he wants and the community wishes to have him. He has a few helpers, men whom he has persuaded to assist him, or who have offered themselves for this service.

### KAHɛRA

I have discovered no English equivalent for the term kahɛra and I do not even know if it is an Indian word—Keresan or otherwise—or whether it has been derived from some other source. The kahɛra might be called the "church drummer." He has what appears to be an old army type drum, which he beats with two sticks; this is the only instance in which a drum in a Keresan pueblo is beaten with two drumsticks. The principal occasion upon which he performs is in the ceremony in celebration of the pueblo's patron saint. He stands outside the door of the church, and when Mass has been concluded he begins to roll his drum with considerable vigor. Beating his drum, he accompanies the procession in which the image of the saint is carried through the pueblo, until the saint is deposited in her "house" in the plaza for the day. He also officiates at equestrian impersonation of saints, beating his drum for the dancing. There is only one kahɛra in Sia. He assumed the office of his own volition and upon acceptance by the pueblo; he may have assumed this duty as a consequence of a vow, which is a common pueblo pattern. He serves for life. Antonio Gachupin was kahɛra in 1957 and had been since he quit school in 1923.

One informant, and a good one ordinarily, said that the term kahɛra is not used at Sia, and that Antonio Gachupin, who is also one of the regular pueblo drummers, did not undertake the job of beating the church drum as a consequence of a vow: "he just beats it." But he, too, stated that Antonio, and he only, has been doing this for decades.

The institution of kahɛra has received little attention by ethnographers although it exists in all the Keresan villages, probably, and the kahɛra is fairly conspicuous when he does function. See "The Pueblo of Santa Ana" (White, 1942 a, p. 109) for a summary of what is known about him.

### DRUMMERS

Drummers are functionaries, rather than officers, but, like the kahɛra, they may be dealt with here. Any man in Sia, no doubt, is capable of beating a drum to accompany a song. But from the standpoint of pueblo affairs, only certain men are official pueblo drummers. Others may be temporary drummers; but most men are not pueblo drummers at all. A person may, of his own will, ask to become a drummer, or his parents may "offer" him—as is the case in affiliation with a society, or clan adoption. In either case, the person who wishes to become a drummer or the parents who offer their son, must take prayer meal (petana) to the head of the drummers or to the head of the singers; Masewi would have to be consulted, also, and his approval obtained. Whether such requests can be, or ever are, refused, my notes do not say; but it is in the community's interest to obtain the best of performers. On certain occasions the old men have some young men beat the drum in order to discover who has a natural aptitude for it. In addition to petition, the head of the drummers, together with the head of the singers, can appoint a man to serve as temporary pueblo drummer.

In 1941 there was only one permanent pueblo drummer: Jose Vigil Medina, born in 1893; he is said to be a performer of extraordinary ability. He was chosen by the singers. He was assisted by two temporary drummers. In 1957 there were five drummers of whom Jose Vigil Medina was the head; whether the other four were permanent or temporary my notes do not specify.

A drummer is called Gaoctyuwits; plural, Gowactyuwits.

### POLE CARRIERS

"Pole carriers" is what informants call the men who carry the decorated pole, or standard, called áctitco'mı at Sia (see "Paraphernalia and Ritual") in the dance held in honor of the patron saint on August 15. My data are not consistent on this subject: in 1941 a good informant told me that they were selected by the head of the singers, and once chosen, held their post permanently; he named five men who served in this capacity. In 1957, an informant said that "they used to have the same carriers every year"; I understood him to say that in 1957 the carriers were chosen for the occasion by the head Koshairi (who was in charge of the saint's day dance in that year). He named the carriers for 1957, none of whom was on the 1941 list.

### SELECTION AND INSTALLATION

In the late fall of each year the cacique begins to consider the appointment of officers for the ensuing year.

Accounts of the selection of officers and the announcement of appointments contain some variations. Stevenson (1894, p. 16) states that Tiamunyi and the war priest and their respective vicars "discuss the appointments to be made." My earlier informants said that tiamunyi consults with his tcraikatsi and, possibly, with the heads of some of the societies, but that final decision rested with the tiamunyi. My later informants said that Tiamunyi consults first with his tcraikatsi. Then, later, at a meeting called by Tiamunyi, the matter is discussed with the heads of the more important societies (e.g., Flint, Giant, Fire, and possibly Koshairi and Kapina), or possibly all of them, and the War captains. Finally, on the evening of December 28, Tiamunyi and his tcraikatsi meet with the War chiefs, the heads of societies, and the male heads of the clans; final selections are made at this time. If this is correct, the question arises as to the influence exercised by the heads of societies, the War captains, and even the heads of the clans. Stevenson (1894, p. 18) said that the cacique sought the approval of the medicinemen, but that "this is always given, the consultation with the theurgists being but a matter of courtesy." And this may be the case today. On the other hand, it is possible that Tiamunyi may be influenced, if not guided, in his choice by the reactions of the other important leaders in the pueblo; this may be particularly so in the present instance since Eliseo Aguilar is merely acting cacique (1957).

My earlier informants stated that announcement of appointments was made on December 29, and formal installation—i.e., presentation of staffs of office—took place on January 1. My later information is that both announcement and installation take place on the forenoon of December 29; custom may, of course, have changed at this point since 1930. Every Sia man is supposed to be in the pueblo at that time if possible. Messages or messengers are sent to absentees, such as men who may be employed in Albuquerque or elsewhere, firmly requesting them to be present. Announcement and installation take place in the hotcanitsa. The heads of the medicine societies sit in the back of the room with the tiamunyi and the War chiefs. As the names of the officers are called out, the outgoing officer comes up and surrenders his yapi or cane to tiamunyi. It is then "blessed" by the medicinemen and formally presented to the incoming officer. Masewi and Oyoyewi are installed first, then come the governor, his lieutenant, the two fiscales, the gowatcanyi, and finally the capitani, in this order. A dance in honor of the new officers is held on January 6, King's Day.

All officers serve without compensation. The responsibilities are great, especially for the more important officers, and the duties numerous and frequently onerous. Men are sometimes disinclined to serve, but once public announcement is made they have no alternative. And the number of offices is so great, the term of office so brief, and the number of eligible men so small, that almost all men in the pueblo have held some office at least once; some have held various offices or the same one a number of times.

On certain ceremonial occasions, all of the major officers, i.e., excluding the helpers of the War captains and the governor, sit in a row, usually on the north side of the plaza, to watch the dance or ceremony in progress. The seating order is as follows:

B–T B–M D–T D O M T–3 T–2 C T–1

As here indicated, the officers would be facing toward the top of this page. T–1, T–2, and T–3 are the first, second, and third tcraikatsi, respectively. C is the cacique; M, Masewi; O, Oyoyewi; D, Dapop; D–T, Dapop teniente; B–M, Bickari (fiscale) major; and B–T, Bickari teniente.

## SOCIETIES

By *society* I mean an organization of men, or of men and women, established, according to Sia belief, in the mythologic past, by a supernatural being who thus became the society's "father," or patron. The societies were endowed with supernatural power and were provided with songs, paraphernalia, rituals, and in some instances dances, through which this power was expressed or used for certain purposes such as curing sickness, hunting, or warfare. The societies of the modern era are simply continuations of these original organizations.

On page 73 of "The Sia," Stevenson (1894) states that there were eight "cult societies" in Sia in 1890 (ca.). But she does not list them at that point, and it is not easy to identify them from her discussion elsewhere. The first society originated by Masewi, she says, "was the Histian [Flint] or Knife . . . The next . . . was that of the cougar, then followed the societies of the bear, the skoyo (giant), the snake and the ant . . . Masewi then organized the Ope Society (Warriors) . . ." (ibid., pp. 71–72). This would make seven societies. Then there were the Koshairi and Kwiraina (Querranna) societies, which would make nine societies instead of eight. Perhaps she did not count the Warriors' society as a cult society since they do not have a wooden slat altar, fetishes, and a sand painting.

From my pre-1941 informants I obtained the following list of societies at Sia: Kapina, Snake, Giant, Flint, Ci·ma (or Ant), Cikame, Fire, Koshairi, Kwirena, Caiyeik, and Opi. The location of the house of each society was indicated on a diagram of the pueblo, but the names of the members of the respective societies were not ascertained. From my 1941 informants I obtained the following list, arranged according to one informant, in order of their rank, the Flint society being highest: Flint (hictianyi), Koshairi, Kwiraina, Giant (ckoyo), Kapina, Snake (crowi), Fire (hakanyi), Katsina, Caiyeik (Hunters'), and Opi. Later, I discovered Cima (or Ant, or Eagle) tcaiyanyi and a Gomaiyawic society. Beginning in 1941, and continuing thereafter until the conclusion of my study, I made a census of each society to determine the number of members and the name and sex of each. During the course of this inquiry I discovered that some persons who had been included with the Flint society were not really Flint medicinemen at all, but Cima. Similarly, some people had been included in the Katsina society who were not katsina but Gomaiyawic. The association of Cima with Flint and of Gomaiyawic with Katsina was so close that informants had not distinguished the lesser society in either case (the Flint society is enormously more important than Cima; but the reason for the submergence of Gomaiyawic within the Katsina society is not clear). Although I made a careful census of the societies I am not publishing the names of members in this study; they will, however, be kept in my files.

My two lists of societies are very similar. Cikame are not mentioned by my later informants. They said that "there used to be Cikame tcaiyanyi at Sia," but that they had become extinct; they thought that the Kwiraina society might have the altar and paraphernalia of Cikame. The other difference is that the earlier informants did not list the katsina group as a society, although they mentioned them; and they did not mention Gomaiyawic at all.

On the basis of studies of the Keresan pueblos in general we may distinguish the following kinds of societies: (1) a Warriors' (Opi) society; (2) a Hunters' (Caiyeik) society; (3) Koshairi and Kwiraina;

these two societies always go together; they resemble each other in many respects; they are distinguished from societies such as Flint, Giant, and Fire in mythology, costume, and functions; and (4) medicine, or curing, societies, such as Flint, Giant, and Fire. This classification fits our Sia data very well in general, but there are some exceptions and some discrepancies. In the first place, I do not quite know where to place, or how to characterize, the Katsina-Gomaiyawic societies. Secondly, there are discrepancies such as the fact that the Koshairi, but not Kwiraina, society has some of the characteristics of the curing societies.

In each of the Keresan pueblos there is a kind of society that treats illness. These societies have wooden slat altars, corn-ear fetishes, make sand paintings on the floor, and wear bear leg skins during curing rituals. These societies—the Flint, Cikame, Fire, and Giant, for example—have been called medicine, or curing, societies by ethnographers for years, even though they have functions other than curing.

But at Sia the Koshairi society is said to have an iariko (corn-ear fetish) and to do "some curing," although it does not have a wooden slat altar and has no bear paws. Gomaiyawic does not have the wooden altar, corn-ear fetish, or bear paws, yet it is said to do some curing at Sia. The Katsina and Kwiraina societies have none of the distinguishing characteristics of a medicine society as listed above and do no curing at all.

Another concept is relevant here, namely, that of ho·nawai'aiti. I have discussed it at length with a good informant, but feel that I have not comprehended it fully. I have not encountered this term at any other Keresan pueblo.[16] Also, I have been unable to translate it, in whole or in part, into English. It will be noted that it resembles *nawai*, the word used at Santa Ana and at Santo Domingo to designate the head of a secret society; in fact, *nawai* seems to be the principal part of honawai'aiti. But my informant declared that the two words are unrelated. Stevenson (1894, p. 69) uses Hó-na-ai-te to designate the head of a "cult" society.

The term honawai'aiti seems definitely to pertain to the magical curing function of societies. But there are degrees of "honawai'aitiness," so to speak. Some societies are designated as being "full-honawai'aiti," others as half, or part; and others as none at all. This is the first time I have found this concept of degrees among the Keres, although Stevenson (ibid., p. 74) long ago observed that "most of the [Sia] societies are divided into two or more orders." "A full-honawai'aiti is to a part-honawai'aiti as a physician is to a dentist," according to one informant. He explained this by saying that whereas a physician's functions, or powers, embrace the whole organism, the dentist confines his art to the teeth. And there are three ways of treating sickness, too, as we shall see shortly. Only the full-honawai'aiti societies can employ all of these means of curing.

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[16] Since this was written I have learned that it is present at Santa Ana where it is said to be an important idea, although I learned nothing further about it there. It would seem probable that this concept is at least known to all the eastern Keres.

According to Stevenson (ibid., ftn. 1, p. 72, and elsewhere) the honaaites, or "theurgists," obtain their power to cure disease from "prey animals." According to one of my informants "the lion, bear, badger, wolf, eagle, shrew, all snakes, the Sun, Moon, Masewi and Oyoyewi, Tsamahiya, Cinohaiya, and the other spirits of the cardinal points, are all honawai'aiti. All have power to cure sickness." He went on to list four "badges," i.e., distinguishing characteristics, of honawai'aiti: (1) wícdyuma, i.e., strands of yucca that are tied around the wrists, sometimes around the biceps, around the waist, just below the knees, and around the ankles. If the honawai'aiti is "fully dressed" he will wear loops of wícdyuma from his right shoulder to his left side and from his left shoulder to the right side; (2) bear-claw necklace and a whistle; (3) bear leg skins (máca'inyi) worn on the hands and forearms during curing ceremonies; and (4) kaotsaiyawat, i.e., two eagle neck feathers painted yakatca (reddish brown ocher), tied together and worn on the left side of the head. So much for the honawai'aiti. Now let us turn to the kinds of curing.

There are three kinds of curing by means of supernatural power, as distinguished from matter-of-fact techniques. They are: (1) aictyuwanyi, or "clearing things away." This is the simplest way of curing. It consists merely of prayers and the administration of medicine; the wooden slat altar, the sand painting, corn-ear fetish, and other like paraphernalia are not used. (2) Wikacanyi, "doctoring." The altar and accompanying paraphernalia are employed and songs are sung. (3) Tsinaodanyi wikacanyi, "all the way doctoring." This way is much like the second, except that "they do more" in the third; also, certain songs for power are sung in the third way that are not used in the second. These ways of curing will be discussed more fully in our section on "Sickness and Curing."

Only the Flint, Giant, and Fire societies are qualified to employ all three methods of curing; the Kwiraina and Katsina societies are not able to use any of these techniques; Snake, Kapina, Koshairi, and Gomaiyawic societies can perform the first two kinds of curing ritual, but not the third.

In order to obtain a synoptic view of the societies and their characteristics, I have undertaken a tabulation of them in table 28. In column 1 I indicate whether the society is full, part, or non-honawai'aiti; in column 2 whether it has all, some, or none of the " badges"

Table 28.—*Characteristics of medicine societies*

| Societies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Honawai'aiti | "Badges" | Kinds of curing ritual | Cure by sucking | Heart songs | Communal cure | Atcin, ha'atsi | Iariko, paiyatyamo | Bear leg skins | Ritual for dead |
| Flint | Full | All | All | Yes | Yes | Always | Both | Both | Yes | Yes. |
| Koshairi | do | None | 1, 2 only | ? | No | Sometimes | Ha'atsi only | One iariko P. | No | No. |
| Kwiraina | Part | do | None | ? | No | Could | do | P | No | No. |
| Giant | Full | All | All | Yes | Yes | Always | Both | Both | Yes | Yes. |
| Kapina | do | Some | 1, 2 only | Yes | No | Sometimes | do | One iariko P. | Leader only | Yes. |
| Snake | Part | All | 1, 2 only | Yes | No | do | do | Both | Yes | Yes. |
| Fire | Full | do | All | Yes | Yes | Always | do | do | Yes | Yes. |
| Katsina | None | None | None | No | No | Never | Ha'atsi only | P only | No | No. |
| Gomaiyawic | Part | do | 1, 2 only | ? | No | Could | Neither | do | No | No. |
| Caiyeik | do | ? | See text | No | No | Never | Ha'atsi | Both | Lion | No. |

of the honawai'aiti; in column 3 which, if any, of the three kinds of curing ritual they are capable of; in column 4 whether or not they cure by sucking out objects that have caused an illness; in column 5 whether the society has heart songs by means of which a stolen heart may be restored; in column 6 whether a society is always, sometimes, or never asked to take part in the communal curing ceremony, or whether it might be so asked (Kwiraina, Gomaiyawic); in column 7 whether the society has both the wooden slat altar (atcin) and the sand painting (ha'atsi), or the latter only, or neither; in column 8 whether the society has both the corn-ear fetish (iariko) and the little figures of men or animals (paiyatyamo), or one of them only; in column 9 whether or not they have bear leg skins as a part of their curing equipment; and, finally, in column 10 whether the society can perform the ceremony to dispatch souls of the deceased back to the underworld.

From our table it appears very definitely that Flint, Giant, and Fire societies are of the kind that are commonly called curing, or medicine, societies. And they are the only ones that are full-fledged medicine societies: they are full-honawai'aiti and have all the badges of this characteristic; they have the slat altar, sand painting, corn-ear fetish and bear leg skins; and they alone are capable of all three kinds of curing ritual, which means that they alone have the songs and ritual to restore a stolen heart; and they alone are always asked to perform the communal curing ceremony.

Kapina and Snake societies also seem definitely to be curing societies, although why the Snake society should have all of the badges of the honawai'aiti when it is only part honawai'aiti is not clear; this may well be an error of information. The position of the Koshairi society seems anomalous from the standpoint of Keresan custom in general. My data for Sia show it to be a curing society to some extent, at least: it is said to be honawai'aiti, to have one iariko, and to do some curing; but, on the other hand, it has no wooden slat altar or bear paws, and has none of the "badges" of the honawai'aiti. Kwiraina and Katsina societies seem definitely not to be curing societies, which is in accordance with Keresan custom in general. The situation with regard to Gomaiyawic is curious: it is said to be part honawai'aiti and to do some curing, but it has none of the badges of the honawai'aiti, neither slat altar nor sand painting, no iariko and no bear paws. The Caiyeik society was declared to be part honawai'aiti and to be "able to cure," but informants knew of no instance in which they had exercised curing functions. The Caiyeik is definitely a Hunters' society. It has a ha'atsi, an iariko, and is said to have the leg skins of the mountain lion instead of the bear.

Thus some rather definite generalizations emerge from our tabulation. The discrepancies, apparent or real, may be due to: (1) errors within the ethnographic record; to misunderstanding on the part of the ethnographer; (2) or to inconsistencies or makeshifts within the ceremonial organization of Sia itself. We know that societies occasionally die out and that their functions or paraphernalia or both may be taken over by another society. It is my guess that the Koshairi society has taken over the functions and some of the paraphernalia of a society that has become extinct. I do not understand the situation with regard to the Gomaiyawic society, and our data from other Keresan pueblos do not help much here.

The societies of Sia, with the exception of the Opi and the partial exception of the Caiyeik societies, have two functions: (1) the curing of sickness, and (2) weather control. With regard to the latter there are two kinds of ceremonies: (1) the Gacpυticɛ, or "wet," ceremonies, and (2) the tsíʿpanyi, or "dry," ceremonies. Wet and dry correspond, I believe, to summer and winter, respectively. The following societies perform both wet and dry ceremonies: Flint, Giant, Fire, Kapina, Snake and Gomaiyawic. Koshairi, Kwiraina, and Katsina societies have only the wet ceremonies. Caiyeik has dry ceremonies only.

Each society has a house of its own or shares a house with another society. "House" in this connection means the room in which ceremonies are performed, plus an additional room or rooms, if they have one, in which paraphernalia may be stored. Only the Fire and Caiyeik societies have a house of their own (see fig. 8). Each society, with the exception of Koshairi and Caiyeik, have masks which are stored in their ceremonial chambers. Each society has one or more supernatural patrons who "look" after and help the society. In some instances the patron is called "father," but whether this is true of all patrons or not we cannot say. And, finally, each society has a "badge," to use the informant's term. This is something that identifies the society affiliation of the person wearing it. All badges are of feathers except those for the Koshairi society, which uses strips of cornhusk.

## JOINING A SOCIETY

With the exception of the Opi, there are four ways of becoming a member of a society: (1) One may join voluntarily while in good health; (2) one may join as a consequence of being treated by a society for an illness; (3) a parent may "put a child in"; and (4) one might be trapped and forced to join. A person may be inducted into a society as a full-fledged member or merely as a helper. In the latter case the person would not be admitted to the secret lore and would not be qualified to perform cures; he would merely assist the full-fledged medicinemen in their work.

A person very rarely asks to become a member of a society while in good health. The closest approximation of this that I learned of was the case of F. S., who lost consciousness during childbirth. She recovered consciousness while still in labor and offered herself to the Fire society. Her baby was born safely, and eventually she became a member of the Fire society.

If a person has been treated by a society for a severe illness he may ask to become a member although he is not obliged to do so. The society can, however, ever after call upon him for help if they have need of him. T. M. used to have fits; when she had a seizure it would require the strength of two persons to hold and restrain her. Once she had a fit when the Flint society was having a meeting. The Flint medicinemen were sent for and they came and treated her. T. became a member of the Flint society as a consequence.

A parent, or parents, may offer a sickly child to a medicine society in order to improve his health, or because of ominous dreams. I have one instance in which both of these factors were present. Juana (not her real name) used to have bad dreams when her son, Jose, was a small boy and very sickly. She used to see the bears (kokohó; kohaiya is the usual word for bear) of the Fire society in her dreams. They would threaten to take her son away with them. Then she used to see the bears if only she closed her eyes when she was awake. Once when Jose became very ill, the bears appeared to Juana in a dream and told her they were going to take Jose away by a certain date. Juana then pledged Jose to the Fire society. From the very moment that the Fire society accepted him Jose began to recover and has never been sick since that time. Jose was initiated a few years later.

A married couple had five daughters but no son. When the wife became pregnant again she and her husband pledged their unborn child to the Fire society if it should be a boy. It was a boy, and he was eventually inducted into the Fire society.

Trapping [17] persons and inducting them into societies is a general practice among the Keres, and it is observed at Sia. When a society is holding an initiation ceremony, nonmembers are forbidden to come close to the house. On the first day of the ceremony an imaginary line is drawn around the house; where these lines intersect to form a corner, a stone is placed to mark the spot. On the second day the tabooed area is increased in size, and on the third day it is made still larger. By the fourth day the taboo lines would be about eight paces from the ceremonial house. When the tabooed area is established the War captain announces this fact publicly and warns people not to enter it. He then stations one of his assistants (a gaotcanyi) to stand guard near the house for the 4-day period. If the gaotcanyi sees someone cross the line, he at once notifies one of the medicinemen in the house. The medicineman comes out and ties the feather badge upon the side of the head of the trespasser. This person now "belongs to the society"; he is taken into the ceremonial house and inducted into the society then and there. A former member of the Fire society at Sia was trapped and inducted by the Fire society of Jemez.

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[17] The Sia word here, tsi·wi·kamɛ, is the same as that used for trapping birds or mammals; a steeltrap is wɪ·kamɛ.

If a person should throw a stone on top of a society's ceremonial house during an initiation ceremony he would be caught and inducted. Little children who are so small that they do not realize what they are doing when they cross the taboo lines are nevertheless caught and inducted.

Apart from trapping, there is a procedure that one must follow if he himself wishes to join a society or if he wishes to put one of his children in. One must obtain the permission and consent of the head of the Flint society, the War captain, and the Tiamunyi, but I am not sure of the order in which they are asked. If one of these should refuse "that would be the end of it"; but it is said that permission is virtually never withheld. After these three have given their permission the person who wishes to join, or to put a child in, calls a meeting, to be held in his house, of all his close relatives, at which time the matter is discussed. The relatives give their consent. Then the person has his mother grind some prayer meal (petana). An elderly male member of the clan of the petitioner, "who knows how," makes a little packet of meal wrapped in a cornhusk. The petitioner prays into the meal, after which the clansman takes it in the morning to the head of the society in which membership is desired. If nawai accepts it, as he is virtually certain to do, he will call a meeting of the members of his society for the following evening. If they accept the meal it will be divided among them, and in this way their consent to the petition is indicated.

In former times a period of either 2 or 4 years had to elapse between the acceptance of a petitioner by a society and his formal induction. During this time the candidate had to raise corn, especially in the year immediately prior to the initiation, which he would need for the ceremony. This food and many other things are given to the society members at the time of initiation.

An informant told me of still another way in which a person might become a member of a society, and he cited a particular instance that had occurred not long prior to 1957. It is the only case of its sort that I have ever heard of among the Keresan pueblos. The informant stated that it was indeed rare, but indicated that it was a legitimate and proper way of effecting admission. A young man, F. L., wished to become a member of the Flint society. But to join in the usual way would require a considerable period of time. And it would also involve great expense, since he would be obliged to give much food and other things to the society at the time of initiation. So, one day when the Flint society was having a curing ceremony, he went to their ceremonial chamber and knocked on the door. It was opened by a Flint shaman. "May I come in?" the young man inquired. "Yes," said the shaman. The young man entered, went over to where the Flint nawai was and sat down. Then he handed nawai a cornhusk and asked to be admitted to the society. His request was granted.[18] He was inducted into the society right then and there, and he was not obliged to make any payments of admission.

All Sia societies are alike in a number of respects, as we have just seen. But there are differences among them, too. Only the Snake society performs the ceremony in which live snakes are handled. The Fire society is the only one that has the ritual of fire eating. Members of the Koshairi and Kapina societies are the only ᴅówahi tcaiyanyi (ᴅó means "Look!"). That is, they are the only ones who can make things appear magically in kiva ceremonies. The ceremony is held in January or February at the request of Tiamunyi or Masewi. Its purpose is "to help nature bring forth—crops and game—just as the shamans do." They can make ripe melons appear, with green leaves, they can make corn to grow and ripen in a single night. They can cause rain to fall or a bowl to dance. The medicinemen set up their altar for the ceremony, which begins with a few songs while the medicinemen are seated behind their altar. Then two men, one from each side of nawai, go out in front of the altar. In the songs which follow, the medicinemen ask for fruit, melons, corn, or other plant foods. When anything is mentioned the two men in front of the altar reach out or down and produce the food mentioned. Koshairi can produce ɢawai'aiti only, i.e., wheat, corn, beans, piñon nuts, berries, acorns, etc. Kapina can produce either ɢawai'aiti or goyaiti (game animals).

Some societies have masks, others do not (see "Katsina: Masked Impersonations"). There are a few other minor differences, too, but I shall note them as we go along. Let us turn now to the societies in particular.

Flint, Giant, and Fire societies are the principal medicine societies at Sia; this is made apparent by the tabulation in table 28. Only they (1) are full-honawai'aiti and have all the badges of it; (2) have heart songs and are qualified for all three kinds of curing; (3) are always called upon for the communal curing ceremony. Their preeminence may be deduced from the accounts of all the societies. A member of one of these societies could take the place of an absent member of either of the other two in a ceremony, which is an indication of their equivalence. Similarly, a medicineman of the Flint, Giant, or Fire society could substitute for an absent Snake shaman, but a Snake shaman could not take the place of a member of one of these three societies.

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[18] Whether the society had any choice or whether this ritual request obliged them to accept him, my notes do not specify. At Acoma, if a medicineman asks a young man for a cigarette and the youth gives him one after having lighted it, the doctor will take a puff, touch the youth and say, "You are my son." The youth may then be obliged to join the society (White, 1932 a, p. 112).

### FLINT SOCIETY

The Flint society is the highest ranking society in Sia. It was the first society to be organized. According to Stevenson (1894, p. 71.) it was the first society originated by Masewi and Oyoyewi; my informants state that these two War gods are the patrons of the Flint society. Stevenson calls the Flint society the Histian or Knife society. Histian is the word for flint and, by extension, flint knife. The "badge" of Flint tcaiyanyi is feathers of the eagle or turkey.

The Flint society exercises more authority in Sia than any other society. As one informant put it, "everything of importance must go through the Flint society," i.e., the head of this society must be consulted, and he must give his assent, on all important occasions. If the Flint society does not approve, "they can stop anything that they think is not for the good of the pueblo. Whatever the Flint society says or orders must be respected by the other societies."

The Flint society is one of the two (or three) societies qualified to perform the ceremony of installing a new Tiamunyi. And it is this society that conducts the mortuary ceremony for a deceased cacique, to send his soul back to the underworld.

All members of the Flint society are full-honawai'aiti and are qualified for all three ways of curing, The society has both general and special curing functions. It may treat individuals suffering from any severe illness, and it is one of the three societies that is always called upon to participate in the communal curing ceremony. Its special medical functions include: (1) treatment of wounds caused in warfare, i.e., those caused by arrows, guns, knives, or war clubs; and (2) lightning shock. Flint is associated with lightning, presumably because sparks of "lightning" can be struck by flint, which is probably the reason why it is the Flint society's province to treat lightning shock.

The Flint society performs weather control ceremonies for both winter and summer. They also do sahanyiko and sahanyikikya, the two solar ceremonies. They do not, however, possess any katsina masks.

The Flint society is closely associated with warfare, the Opi, and scalps among the Keres in general. At Sia, in the old days, it had a ceremony for men going to war and gave them a medicine to sew into their clothes to protect them. And, as we have just seen, they treated wounds inflicted in combat. Stevenson (1894, pp. 121–123) describes the ceremony held in Sia when fresh scalps are brought into the pueblo, in which the Flint society takes a prominent part. My informants stated that members of the Flint society at Sia are also called nakats (scalp) ícat[1] (fat or tallow) opέwi (food) tcaiyanyi; the significance of "fat" and "food" in this connection was not ascertained.

The Flint society is closely associated with the Koshairi at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, p. 117), San Felipe (ibid., 1932 b, p. 41), and Santo Domingo (ibid., 1935, p. 54); but this is not the case at Sia. Here, the association of Flint is with the Shima medicinemen. The connection is so close, in fact, that it was not until curing societies and rituals had been discussed at great length with informants that the existence of Shima was discovered. Early in my inquiry I obtained a list of names of the membership of the Flint society; much later I discovered that some of these persons were not Flint, but Shima. But the intimacy of the association between the two societies, and the preeminence of the Flint society, are the reasons, we suppose, why informants identified Shima with Flint and called both by the same name. In Stevenson's day the vicar (the man next to the head) of the Flint society was the head and only surviving member of the Ant society (Stevenson, 1894, p. 104).

A good informant stated positively that Flint and Shima each has its own altar (atcin), ha'atsi (sand painting), and songs, and that they differ in each case. Yet, he said, the two kinds of medicinemen always work together in any ceremony. We may question, however, whether Shima tcaiyanyi exercise all of the functions of Flint, such as those pertaining to war, the cacique, and lightning shock. On the other hand, the special function of Shima medicinemen is the treatment of illness caused by ants, and prior to my discovery of the Shima I was told that ant sickness was treated by Flint doctors. The "badge" of the Shima society consists of feathers taken from beneath the tail of the road runner, or chaparral cock, which, of course, distinguishes it from the Flint society.

No English translation of Shima could be obtained. One informant stated that Shima shamans are also called Eagle, or Ant. Ant medicinemen are called Eagle at Santa Ana, also (White, 1942 a, p. 117). Stevenson (1894, p. 104) obtained an account of the curing ceremony of the Ant society at Sia from its last remaining member. In it, the eagle was invoked to eat the ants that had been brought to the surface of the body of the sick person. But the curing ceremony that she witnessed, in which ants were magically removed from the patient, was performed not by the Ant but by the Giant society (ibid., p. 100).

During the 1940's there were only four male members of the Flint-Shima group, two of each, and two female members, both Flint. The nawai of the Flint group, Pedro Pino, who incidentally was blind, died during the 1940's. This all-important society was therefore threatened with extinction. In spite of its importance in pueblo affairs, and despite the prestige that may go with membership, no one wanted to join the Flint society; membership involves "too much work, too much responsibility." In the late 1940's the cacique chose two males to be inducted into the Flint society. One was a mature man who had served in the armed forces during World War II, and who was the son of the Flint shaman who succeeded Pedro Pino as Flint nawai; he gave his consent to induction. The other was an immature youth; in his case the consent of his father was sought and obtained.

Induction into the Flint society would normally proceed in four steps, each separated by an interval of months or a year or more, from the next. But, due to the urgency of the situation, these two were both initiated fully upon one ceremonial occasion; this was done upon orders from Tiamunyi and the War chief. The four steps, or stages, in normal procedure, would be as follows: (1) The initiate would take part in the dancing of the society and serve as helper to provide firewood and other chores; (2) participate in the summer ceremonies for rain; (3) participate in the winter (dry) ceremonies; and (4) would be initiated into the secrets of curing.

The Flint society invited the Giant and Fire societies to assist them in the initiation. And we have already seen how one young man got himself initiated. Thus, in 1957, there were four male and two female members of the Flint society, with two more women pledged but not fully initiated.

Informants said that if the Flint society should die out in Sia it could be reestablished by the Flint society from another Keresan pueblo.[19] "But it would not be exactly the same," the informant observed. "It would have the same name, yes, but it would have different ways of doing things."

The Flint-Shima group share a ceremonial house with Kwiraina, as they did in Stevenson's day (1894, p. 104), but at Hanyiko, Kwiraina moves to another house, borrowed for the occasion, to perform its ceremony.

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[19] It is said that the Flint society once became extinct at Santa Ana, but that it was reestablished by the Flint society from San Felipe (White, 1942 a, p. 117).

In 1957 informants reported that a man and his sister had joined the Shima, bringing the membership of this group to three male and one female members.

### GIANT SOCIETY

The Giant society is one of the "big three" societies along with Flint and Fire. Their patron spirit is Ckoyo (monster, or giant), who lives at Gyitibo-kai. The badge of Giant shamans is feathers of eagle or turkey. All Giant shamans are full-honawai'aiti and are qualified for all three ways of curing. They treat sickness in individuals, and are one of the societies that are always requested to perform the winter communal curing ceremony. I obtained a list of the members of the Giant society in 1941, 1952, and again in 1957. The membership has remained stable and virtually stationary. In 1957 there were five male and four female members. Giant society performs weather control ceremonies for both winter and summer. It has the following kachina masks: 7 Maidyana (seven), 2 Go'okiwa, 2 Sikiri, and 1 Heruta. The Giant society shares a house with Koshairi. The Giants built the house and later the Koshairi moved in, possibly for economy's sake or for convenience. However, at Hanyiko when the societies hold meetings simultaneously, Koshairi goes to some other house, which it borrows for the occasion, to perform its ceremony.

### FIRE SOCIETY

The Fire (hakanyi) society is the third of the "big three." Their patron spirit is fire. Their badge consists of white eagle or turkey feathers that have been dyed in alternating black and white bands. It is worn on the left, instead of the right, side of the head; the Fire society is unique in this respect. Fire shamans are full-honawai'aiti and are qualified for all three kinds of curing. They cure individuals and are one of the societies that are always requested to perform the mid-winter communal curing ceremony. Fire medicine-men treat burns; they are the only ones to do this.

#### INITIATION

There are two initiation ceremonies that one must go through in order to become a full-fledged member of the Fire society. At the first ceremony only shiwana (katsina) songs are sung. This ceremony makes one a Fire shaman (hakanyi tcaiyanyi) and shiwana (katsina) tcaiyanyi. It qualifies him to participate in the weather control ceremonies, both wet (summer) and dry (winter), and in the two solar ceremonies. But it does not make him honawai'aiti and it does not qualify him for curing. He will be made honawai'aiti, which will qualify him for curing in a second induction ceremony held 4 or 8 years later.

A person who wishes to join the Fire society, or a parent who desires to have a child inducted, will take a packet of prayer meal to the head of the society with his petition for membership. The head of the Fire society will give some of the meal to the head of Kapina society, and he in turn will give meal to the head of the Snake society. Each head man will distribute the meal to his own society's members. All of them will then take part in the ceremony of induction. The Kapina and Fire societies help each other in initiation ceremonies; Kapina and Snake always help each other. The Snake society may assist the Fire society, but the latter would not assist the former in initiation ceremonies. A strip of cornhusk is enclosed in the packet of meal; it has knots tied in it, each knot indicating a year which must elapse before the family of the candidate will be ready for the initiation ceremony.

When the time has come for the initiation, the Fire society will notify the candidate and his family. The members of the society retire to their ceremonial house for 4 days. During this time they will be making paraphernalia—an iariko (corn-ear fetish), fetishes, etc.—for the candidate. On the third day of their retreat the medicinemen will call the candidate in so that he may choose his "father" and "mother"; these will be a male and a female member, respectively, of the Fire society.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the candidate is called into the ceremonial house of the Fire society. They have their wooden slat altar up, their sand painting on the floor, and their fetishes and other paraphernalia laid out (fig. 13). The candidate stands before the sand painting, facing the altar behind which the medicinemen and women are sitting. The candidate's ceremonial mother stands on his right side; his father, on his left. The medicinemen sing a song. When the song is ended, the head of the Fire society leaves his place behind the altar, goes to the end of the line of medicinemen and women who are seated behind the altar and takes a bunch of sticks from a basket which is held by one of the female members. These sticks are about 16 inches long and about one-tenth of an inch in diameter. They are split twigs of juniper (kanyi). Nawai dances, or marches, around the sand painting twice, going from west to north to east and to south. This is the reverse of the customary ceremonial circuit, and is a characteristic of the Fire society. He then goes to the fireplace and ignites his sticks. Then he goes around the sand painting twice more. The sticks are aflame by now. He stands on the south side of the ha'atsi, facing it. He thrusts the flaming sticks into his mouth. The flames are extinguished. He

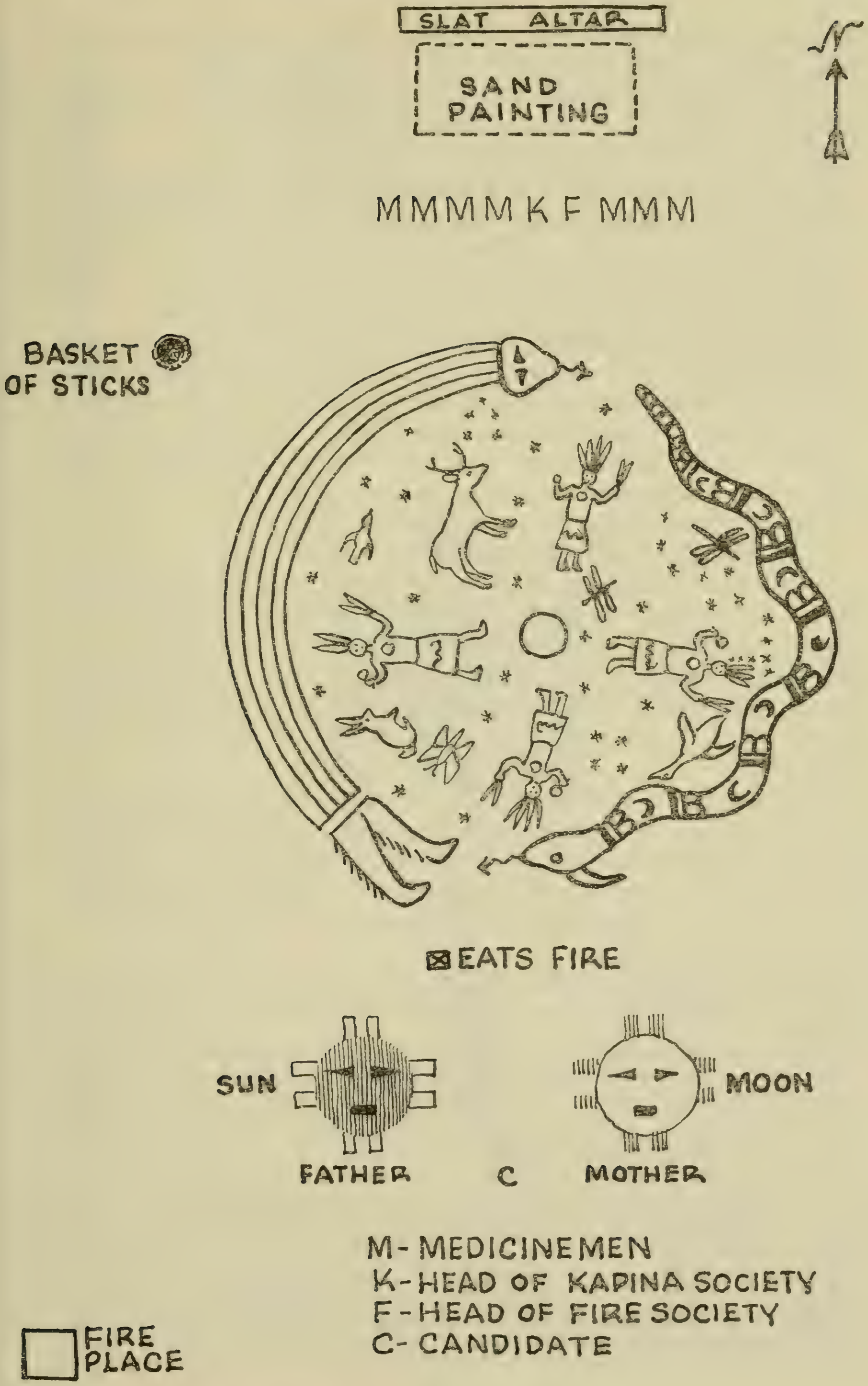
SLAT ALTAR
SAND PAINTING
N
MMMMKFMMM
BASKET OF STICKS
EATS FIRE
SUN
MOON
FATHER
C
MOTHER
M-MEDICINEMEN
K-HEAD OF KAPINA SOCIETY
F-HEAD OF FIRE SOCIETY
C-CANDIDATE
FIRE PLACE

FIGURE 13.—Fire society initiation.

takes the charred wood out of his mouth and rubs the candidate's body with it. Then he returns to his place behind the altar.

Before performing this fire ritual the medicinemen chew a plant called hakanyi (fire) wawa (medicine). This protects their mouths so that the flaming sticks will not burn them.

After nawai has taken his seat the medicineman next to him in the line will perform the fire ritual in the same manner. All of the shamans in turn do likewise; each one has a song for his performance. Then the ceremonial father of the candidate must "eat" the fire, and "if the candidate is old enough to do so," he must eat it, too. The candidate is not given the protection of the plant fire medicine; he "must take it raw. It will not burn him if he believes and has faith." Whether the ceremonial father was protected by the plant medicine or by his faith was not ascertained.[20]

In the evening of the fourth day, i.e., in the evening after the fire ritual of the fourth afternoon, there is a meeting in the Fire society's ceremonial house. They sing and dance.

On the morning of the fifth day, the Fire and Kapina societies take the candidate to one of the kivas (either one) where they perform the "sword swallowing" dance.[21] As they dance they swallow smooth, dull sticks, called wa·ᴅi. They are about 16 inches long and have an ornamental head (fig. 14). In this dance Kapina faces first toward the north, then to the west, south and east, which is the usual ritual circuit. Fire shamans, however, face east first, then south, west, and north.

In the evening of the fifth day the Fire society take their candidate over to the Kapina's ceremonial house, where they have their atcin (slat altar) erected and their sand painting on the floor. The Kapinas perform the stick-swallowing dance. My notes do not say whether the candidate swallows the stick or not; he probably does "if he is old enough."

The first ceremony of initiation is now over. The second one, at which the candidate will be made honawai'aiti, will be held 4 or 8 years later. One must petition with a packet of meal for the second ceremony as for the first.

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[20] Ceremonies in which one "eats fire," juggles with live coals, or bathes in a bed of live coals, are found in Zuñi (Stevenson, 1904, p. 495), and at Acoma (White, 1932 a, pp. 114-115). There is no record of them at Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, or San Felipe. In "The Delight Makers," Bandelier (1918, p. 41) describes a curing ritual performed by a Fire shaman: he chewed burning grass then spat the charred remains upon the patient; he remarks that "this fire-cure was . . . practised by the Queres." Dumarest (1919, p. 188) mentions something similar at Cochiti.

Mrs. Stevenson (1904, p. 495) describes the participation of "a guest from the pueblo of Sia, who belongs to the Fire fraternity of the pueblo," in an initiation of the Great Fire society of Zuñi which she witnessed in 1891. He "goes to the fireplace and stamps in the fire and literally bathes himself in the live coals. He then takes a large coal in his right hand, and after rubbing his throat and breast with it he places it in his mouth."

[21] Stick swallowing was performed by the Fire societies of Acoma (White, 1932 a, pp. 115-116), Zuñi (Stevenson, 1904, p. 503), and Jemez (Parsons, 1925, p. 66), and by the Hlewekwe (Wood, or Sword Swallowers) society of Zuñi (Stevenson, 1904 pp. 466-467). Kapina and Koshairi swallowed sticks at Laguna (Boas, 1925, pp. 139, 291), and the Kaowatas at Santa Ana, who were said to be "the same as Kapina," did likewise (White, 1942 a, p. 119).

The slat altar and sand painting are used in the second ceremony, but the design of the latter is different. Instead of game animals it depicts honawai'aiti animals, i.e., those from which the power to cure is obtained, namely, lion, bear, badger, shrew, eagle, wolf, snakes, etc. There are also mocomi (nomadic Indian neighbors of the pueblos; the name is almost synonymous with enemy) on the sand painting: "the mocomi are gods of the Fire society; ianyi is obtained from them." The sand paintings used in the initiation ceremonies are quite different from the one used in curing ceremonies. Fire is not eaten in the honawai'aiti ceremony. "The medicinemen eat the fire to get the power of fire; fire is maiyanyi or kopictaiya," i.e., a spiritual being.

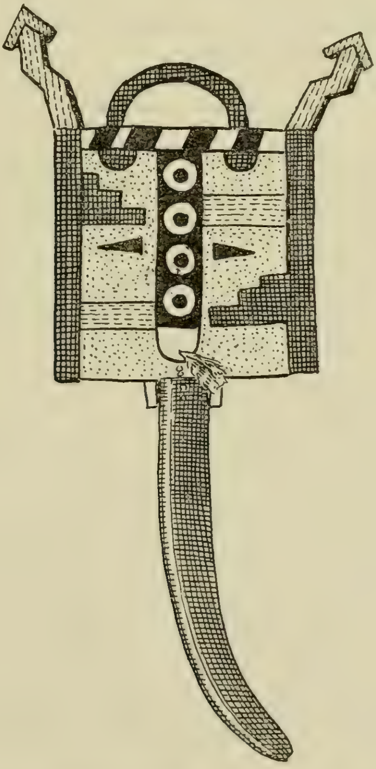

FIGURE 14.—Sword (wa·di) swallowed by Fire medicinemen. The curved blade is made of wood from the Gya·pi tree (mahogany, *Cercocarpus* sp., White, 1945, p. 562); the face is made of the root of a cottonwood. The blade, which is about 16 inches long, is polished very smooth, rubbed with deer tallow (they used to use buffalo fat) and smeared with red ocher. Colors of face: cross hatching, red; stippled, blue; black vertical band in middle of face with white circles on it; eyes, black; lightning symbols, yellow.

These initiation ceremonies are almost always held between November and February, inclusive. The reason for this is that this period comes after the fall harvests and before farm work begins in the spring. The ceremonies are quite expensive; the candidate's family must provide a considerable quantity of food for the medicinemen, and this would be most readily available after harvest.

The Fire society performs weather control ceremonies, both summer and winter, and performs the solar ceremonies of hanyiko and hanyikikya.

The Fire society possesses a number of katsina masks (see p. 244).

The membership of the Fire society has changed but little since 1941; two male and two female members have died; one new female has been added. In 1957 there were four male and six female members. I obtained the names of all members.

The Fire societies of Sia and Jemez used to assist each other in ceremonies, said a Sia informant, "but they had some kind of trouble, so now they leave each other alone."

### KAPINA SOCIETY

Various translations of Kapina have been suggested: "good strong heart," "eat too much," etc. (see White, 1942, a, p. 119, note 44, for a summary of data on this point). Stevenson (1894, pp. 39, 69) equates kapina with "spider." According to her account, the Kapina society was the first to be organized in the underworld by Utset upon instructions from Sussistinnako who, being a spider himself, became the head of this society (ibid., p. 69).

According to my informants, Kapina medicinemen are full-honawai'aiti, but are qualified for the first two kinds of curing ritual only; they do not have heart songs and therefore cannot restore stolen hearts. They are occasionally, but not always, asked to participate in the midwinter communal curing ceremony. However, they have the wooden slat altar and sand painting and one iariko; only the head man has bear leg skins. They are qualified to perform the ceremony for the dead. The "father" of Kapina society is Madja'nyi, a spirit who lives in the south at Daotyuma. It is Madja'nyi who brings the things that Kapina produce magically in midwinter kiva ceremonies. He assists, also, sometimes in the Kapina initiation ceremony. The badge of Kapina consists of white eagle or turkey feathers dyed yellow.

In a general review of societies, virtually at the end of my study, I learned something new about the Kapina society—and possibly touched upon something new in ethnographic studies of the Keres. I have mentioned the doorkeeper that some, if not all, societies have to guard their ceremonial chambers and keep out intruders when ceremonies are in progress; he is called cocgaina (see White, 1942 a, p. 129, for discussion of this functionary at Santa Ana). My informant said that Kapina had a doorkeeper but that he was not called cocgaina, but matcânyi. Then he went on to say that he was not really a doorkeeper, but had other functions. He then caught himself up short and said that this was a "very strong subject," that the matcányi was a "very mysterious person," and that this is one of the matters that he had "kept back," i.e., refrained from telling me. Having inadvertently disclosed the fact that there was a "cat in the bag" he refused to go further and let the cat out and allow me to see it. He did, however, talk about the matcányi in a guarded way: there is a man in Sia who is called matcányi; very few in Sia know who he is; he is identified with the Kapina society and undoubtedly assists them in their ceremonies. In alluding to the mystery which surrounds the matcânyi, the informant went on to refer to the miraculous things that Kapina tcaiyanyi do in the dowahi ceremonies in the kiva, such as making corn to sprout, grow, and ripen before your eyes. The informant politely but firmly declined to be specific, but his veiled allusions and guarded remarks made me think that the matcânyi may be a confederate of the medicinemen, who makes it possible for them to perform their feats of magic and thus deceive the common people into believing they possess supernatural powers. No doubt my informant felt that it was unwise, if not dangerous, for him to expose this deception.

In this connection the following incident is interesting and perhaps significant: I once took a Sia informant who was a member of a medicine society to the restored pueblo at the Coronado National Monument near Bernalillo, among other things, where we inspected underground kivas. One of them had a shaft running vertically from the surface of the ground to a point level with the floor of the kiva and close to, but quite apart from, the kiva wall. Shafts of this sort are not uncommon in archeological sites and they have generally been called ventilator shafts by archeologists. My Sia informant said that they were not for ventilation at all but were devices used by the medicinemen to conceal the various things—such as fruit, corn, or a live bear—that the tcaiyanyi produce magically during ceremonies.[22] But the aboveground kivas of the modern pueblos do not have such shafts—unless it is possible to conceal them within the wall of the kiva, which I do not believe is the case (see Ellis' (1952) article on devices employed in magical performances at Jemez.

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[22] Hoebel (1953) once took two "high ranking society officers" from a Keresan pueblo near Jemez to Mesa Verde where the Indians told him that "open spaces between the round kiva walls and the rectangular walls enclosing them . . . [and] tunnels leading into some of the . . . kivas" were used in the performance of magical ceremonies and that "these things go on in our pueblo right now."

Kapina society performs weather control ceremonies for both summer and winter. They have two masks of Hililiho katsina. They also have a device described as a wooden frame made of a number of slender sticks painted yellow and tied together with cotton string. Stevenson (1894, p. 40) described this device also and said that it belonged to the Kapina society. Both Stevenson and my informant described it as an umbrellalike device; it opens and closes like one. Stevenson called it Nâpakatsa; my informant called it Dyu'onyi (this is the ceremonial name of a water bowl of a medicine society; see, e.g., fig. 46 in White, 1942 a, where a medicine bowl on the Koshairi altar at Santa Ana is called wa·tyuonyi). My informant said that only the head of the Kapina society had enough skill to use this device properly; as he dances with it, it opens and closes and assumes a variety of forms. "He works magic with it; it brings magic and prosperity to the people." My notes do not specify the circumstances, or the occasion, of its use. I do not know of the presence of this object in any other pueblo.

The Kapina and Snake societies are very closely associated with each other, and have been for a long time. Stevenson (1894, pp. 76, 78) reports that one man was the head of both societies in 1890, and that they worked together in a rain ceremonial. In 1957, the head of Kapina was also the head of the Snake society. They shared a ceremonial house and "go in" together for the summer (wet) and winter (dry) ceremonies. Informants often say "the Kapina and Snake societies always work together." This is unquestionably true as a rule, but the two societies are not identical and equivalent in all respects. For example, Kapina but not Snake medicinemen are dowahi tcaiyanyi, i.e., are able magically to produce corn or rain in a kiva ceremony. On the other hand, the Snake society has functions with regard to snakes which Kapina does not have. Kapina assists the Fire society in its sword-swallowing ritual whereas Snake does not. Kapina has charge of the Hahawo dance. And there may be other differences.

In 1957 there were only three full-fledged male members; there may have been some males pledged, but not yet initiated, at this time; my notes are not specific on this point. There were three or four female members.

Kapina medicinemen of Sia "used to go to Acoma to assist the Kapinas there in their ceremonies."

### SNAKE SOCIETY

The Snake society is one of the most interesting, although not the most important, of societies at Sia because it performs a ceremony in which live snakes are handled. Snake medicinemen are not full-fledged doctors; that is, they are only part honawai'aiti—although they possess all of the "badges" of the honawai'aiti—and are qualified to do only the first two ways of curing; they have no songs to retrieve or restore hearts. They are sometimes, but not always, requested to participate in the midwinter communal curing ceremony. They have the chief elements of paraphernalia of a medicine society: the wooden slat altar, the sand painting, iariko, and bear paws. They can conduct the ceremony for the return of a deceased person's soul to the underworld. Snake medicinemen are called to administer magical medicine to a newborn baby to protect him from evil influences (see "Childbirth"). And they have a special ability to treat snake bite. The patron spirits of the Snake society are the mythical snakes of the six directions (see "Cosmology").

### CONCEPTION OF SNAKES

It is not easy to comprehend the Sia conception of snakes. They are supernatural beings, but then almost every living being is. But snakes have a special significance. The horned snake is depicted upon medicine bowls, altars, and dance kilts. The Sia are unwilling to kill a snake, even a venomous one. In 1957 a Government nurse, an Anglo-American woman, told me that on one of her periodic visits to Sia to hold clinic she encountered a large rattlesnake in her path near the schoolhouse where the clinic was held. The nurse requested her Sia woman assistant to remove the snake, but she would do nothing. The nurse then set out to find a man who would remove, or kill, the snake. She found a Sia man and asked him to help her. He returned to the schoolhouse with her, but he did not kill the snake. Instead, he took some branches of shrubs and very carefully "swept" the snake away, and finally it crawled away out of sight. The nurse was so upset that she told the governor of Sia that she would not go to the clinic again unless they "did something about the snakes." After that the governor sent one of the little officers to the clinic every time she came, to see that no snakes were around.

This same nurse was once summoned to a house in Sia where a woman was critically ill; she had been bitten by a spider, the nurse was told. The woman was enormously swollen and in great pain. The nurse had the woman taken to the hospital in Albuquerque where examination revealed fang marks on the woman's buttocks, and the case was diagnosed as snake bite. The woman had gone out to a corral at night, without a light, to relieve herself, so the nurse was told. When she squatted down she was bitten (the heat perceptors of a rattlesnake could have felt the warmth of her body). "That woman died after great suffering," the nurse told me, "but the Indians would not admit that it was a case of snake bite; they insisted that it was a spider." My informants, also, stoutly maintained that "no one at Sia has ever died of snake bite."

### TREATING SNAKE BITE

If a person is bitten by a snake he should not return to the pueblo› but should remain where he is and send someone to Sia to notify a member of the Snake society of the incident. The Snake shaman will go out and administer first aid to the person who has been bitten; that is, he will put "some snake medicine" upon the bite. Then the Snake medicineman will take the bitten person back to the pueblo and put him in the ceremonial house of the Snake society where he will be kept for 4 days. The Snake society will hold its curing ceremonial during this time. No live snakes are used in this ceremony. When the 4 days are up the patient is allowed to go home. The patient may decide to join the Snake society during the curing ceremony, but he is not obliged to become a member. If he wishes to join he will be inducted during the 4-day curing ceremonial.

### INITIATION

Having been bitten by a snake is not a prerequisite to membership in the Snake society. A person may join because he has been dreaming of snakes, for example, as was the case with a man cited by Stevenson (1894, p. 86). The person makes known his desire by presenting a packet of prayer meal to the head of the society, who distributes it, with the petition, among his society members.

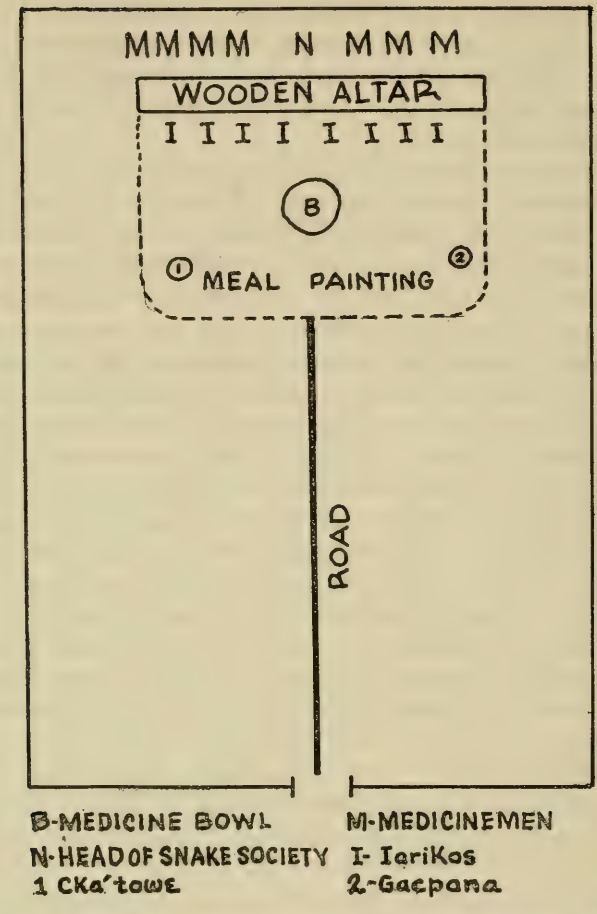
The initiation ceremony will occupy 4 or 5 consecutive days. Our information is not wholly consistent as to chronology. Two informants stated that snakes were hunted for 4 days and the concluding ceremony was held on the fifth; another informant positively stated that snakes were hunted on 3 days only, and that the final rituals were held on the fourth. Stevenson (ibid., p. 86), too, stated that snakes were hunted on 3 days only because there were only three members of the society at that time and, as a consequence, one of the four directions was omitted. I shall proceed on the basis of a 5-day ceremony.

The Snake society retires to its ceremonial house where they fast for 4 days. On the first day they call the candidate into their ceremonial chamber and tie a turkey cpaiyak (short, fluffy feather) on his head. The candidate must remain in his own house all of the time during the first 2 (or 3) days, except when he is obliged to go out to answer the call of nature. On these occasions he must be accompanied by a close relative. "He is in a delicate condition during this time," the informant explained. "Someone might bump into him or say something mean to him and it might hurt him." It is to guard against this sort of injury that the candidate is accompanied by a relative. If, however, someone should "do something mean" to the candidate, the offender himself might be compelled to join the Snake society.

On each of the first 4 days a Snake tcaiyanyi goes out into the country to collect snakes. On the first day one goes to the north; on the second day to the west; on the third day to the south; and on the fourth day to the east. They bring back alive all the snakes they see and can catch and put them into two large ceremonial pottery bowls. The Snake nawai does not go on the hunts, but remains in the ceremonial house. Tsityostinako has something to do with the snake hunts, but it is not clear what. "If she wants the tcaiyanyi to have snakes she will provide them; if she does not she will withhold them."

On the morning of the fifth day, right after sunrise, the Snake tcaiyanyi go to their ceremonial house in the country. This is a little adobe house located about 2 miles west of Sia. Stevenson (1894, p. 90), who saw and described the house, states that it was 6 miles from the pueblo, but my informant denied that a new house had been built within recent decades: "it has always been there where it is now." Also, on the morning of the fifth day, very early, a member of the Snake society goes to the house of the candidate and conducts him to the ceremonial house in the country where he presents him to the head of the society. Nawai "gives the candidate the right" to choose a ceremonial father. "If the person is too small or too bashful to speak for himself," a close relative will choose a father for him. The father will accompany the candidate until the ceremony of initiation is over.

A ceremony is now held in the little adobe house (fig. 15). It consists of singing, for the most part, but a medicineman, the one who ranks next to the head of the society, goes out and dances before the altar. He is the only one to do this. Finally the time comes for the candidate to go before the altar. His ceremonial father goes over to where he is sitting, raises him up with his hicami (eagle wing feathers) and leads him over to the altar and stands there with him. The singing is resumed. A medicineman comes out and gives the father and the candidate each a live snake; or, possibly, only one snake is used. This indicates that the candidate has now become a member of the Snake society. The candidate and his father dance with the snake, or snakes, for a time. This concludes the ceremony in the adobe house; the next stage of the initiation takes place in front of a little conical "house" of cornstalks which has been built near the adobe house. Anyone from the pueblo may witness this part of the ceremony, and a goodly number of people attend.


MMMM N MMM
WOODEN ALTAR
I I I I I I I I
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① MEAL PAINTING ②
ROAD
B-MEDICINE BOWL
N-HEAD OF SNAKE SOCIETY
1 CKa´towe
M-MEDICINEMEN
I- Iarikos
2-Gaçpona

Figure 15.—Adobe house: Snake society initiation

On the ground surrounding the cornstalk house melons, fruit, melon vines, and vegetables of all kinds have been placed (fig. 16). These had been stored in excavations in a nearby arroyo bank until the time came to lay them out. The head of the Snake society is sitting in the cornstalk house with the bowls of live snakes. When the singing begins Snake nawai hands the snakes to the medicinemen outside who dance with them. The songs tell the dancers how to hold the snakes: now with the right hand, now with the left; by the neck, by the tail, etc. If anyone is bitten during the dancing a medicineman will rub a bit of snake medicine on the bite and nothing will come of it. The candidate and his father also dance with snakes. After all the snakes have been danced with, they are returned to the nawai who puts them back into the bowl. Then the spectators are given the signal to come get the fruit, melons, and vegetables on the ground. They run for them and a lively scramble ensues.

The head of the Snake society now presents the new member to tiamunyi. "If you ever need a Snake tcaiyanyi," he tells him, "you may call upon this man." Tiamunyi responds by exhorting the new member to do his work well, not to tire or shirk his duties, and so on.

Then the head of the Snake society calls all of the males present who are 6 years old or over to come up and offer prayers to the snakes. Two of the Snake tcaiyanyi are standing there holding the snakes in their hands. The men and boys come up and address prayers to the snakes, asking them for long life, good crops, etc. "Anyone who wants to and who is brave enough" comes up and smears a little yakatca and stcamuna on the snakes' heads or bodies. When this is over, the head of the society dismisses everyone and they return to the pueblo. Two medicinemen, the first and second ones in rank after nawai, take the snakes in the two ceremonial bowls out into the country and turn them loose. These bowls formerly were kept in a carefully concealed niche in an arroyo bank, as described by Mrs. Stevenson (1894, p. 90). In about 1934 they were found and stolen by trappers who took them to Santa Fe and sold them to a museum. The members of the Snake society retrieved them, however, and they

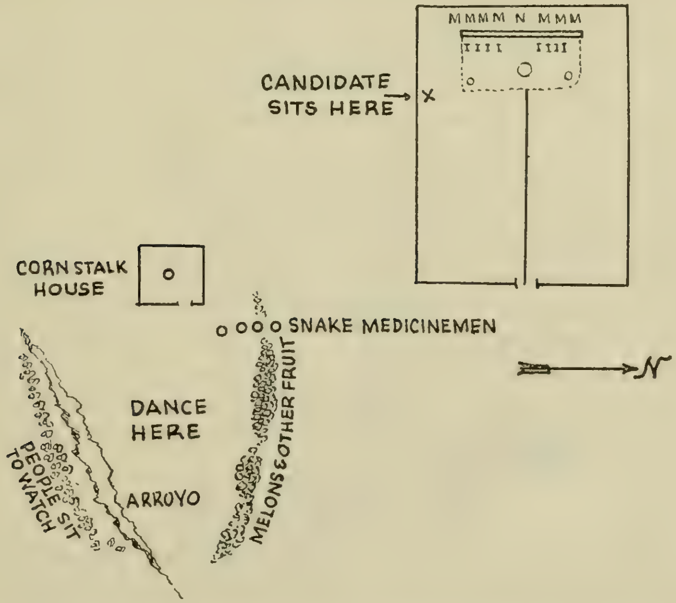

Figure 16.—Initiation into Snake society. M=medicinemen; N=nawai, the head of the society; I=iarikos on meal painting.

are now kept in the Snake society's house in the pueblo. Mrs. Stevenson recounts how the "vicar" of the Snake society gave her husband one of the ceremonial bowls (1894, pp. 90–91); it was taken to Washington and deposited in the U.S. National Museum (cf. Powell, 1892, pp. xxviii—xxix). One of my early informants told me that when Jesus Baca Medina was governor of Sia about 1901 or 1902, he went to Washington on pueblo business and while there he saw this bowl in the Museum. He, along with others, claimed that James Stevenson had stolen it, and he tried to get the bowl back from the Museum but was unsuccessful. Mrs. Stevenson reports that a meeting of the Tiamunyi and the heads of the "cult societies" had flatly refused Mr. Stevenson's request for one, or both, of the bowls, and that as a consequence the vicar of the Snake society gave a bowl secretly to Stevenson in the dead of night. A transaction of this sort could easily lead to an accusation of theft.

After the ceremony of initiation has been concluded, the family and close relatives of the new member give the members of the society "all kinds of food—matsinyis, meal, flour, bread, and meat."

The Snake and Kapina societies are closely associated with each other, as I have already noted. The Kapina tcaiyanyi "work with" (take care of?) the snakes during the 4 days of hunting, but they do not take part in the hunts. On the fifth day, the Kapinas join the Snake tcaiyanyi in the songs, but they do not dance with the snakes.

The costume of a member of the Snake society is illustrated in figure 17. The face is painted with red ocher and sprinkled with stcamun; across it are two horizontal bands of a shiny black paint (but not stcamun). The torso and upper arms are black. The disk on the chest is red. The lower arms and hands and the lower legs and feet are red. Yucca leaves, split into narrow strands, are tied around the wrists, around the legs below the knees, and the waist. The kilt is of white buckskin; jingles, made of rolls of tin (from a tin can), small hoofs, or little pieces of flint, depend from the bottom. I understood that the horned snake, which is painted on the kilt, might be black and white, or its body might be red (in which case it would be ckatowɛ, the snake of the North according to Stevenson, 1894, p. 69) or black (in which case it would be k'acʙanα (the snake of the West). He carries a gourd rattle in his right hand; hicami (a pair of eagle wing feathers) in the left.

## PUEBLO SNAKE CEREMONIES

The Hopi "snake dance" has been very widely publicized, but it is not generally known that other pueblos also had ceremonies with live and poisonous snakes. The earliest published account of the Hopi snake ceremony that we know of is that of Tom V. Keam, an

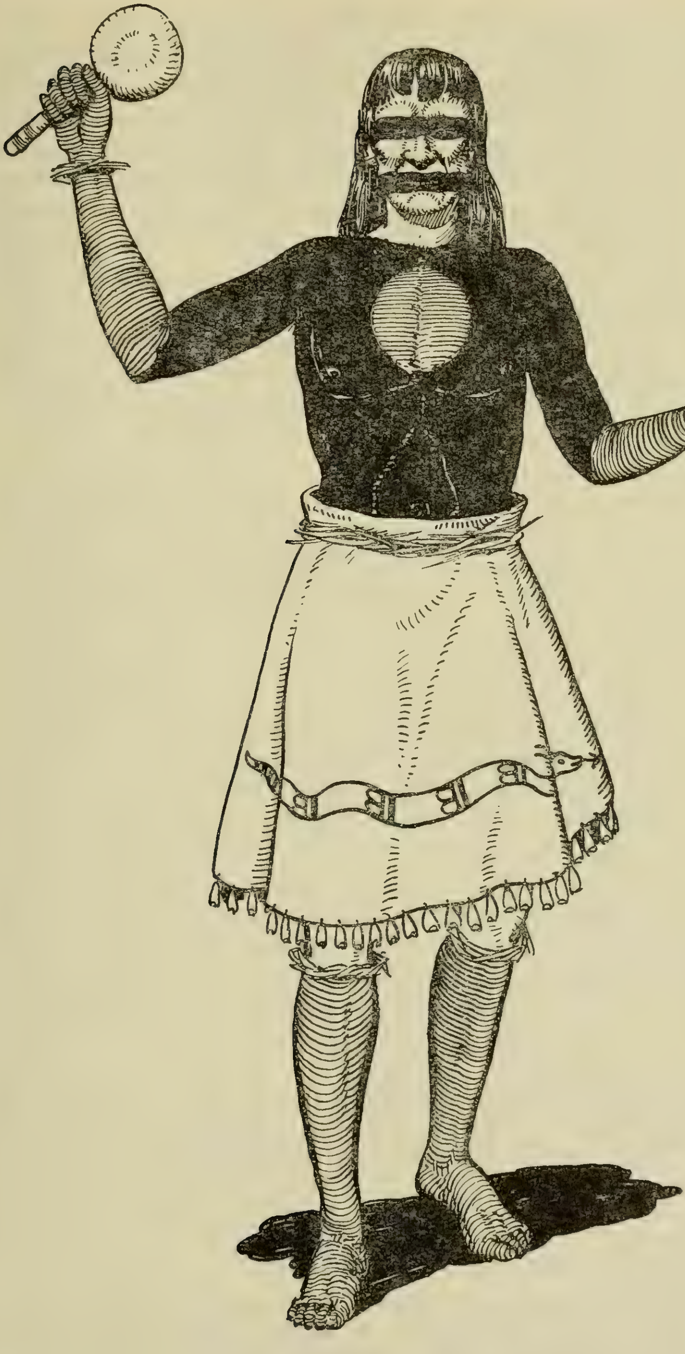

FIGURE 17.—Costume of Snake society.

early trader among the Hopi, in Chamber's Journal of 1883. "The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona," by John G. Bourke (1884), was published in the following year. We do not know when it was that James and Matilda Stevenson learned of the Snake ceremony at Sia, but it was probably during the fall of 1887, when they spent considerable time there. We first learn of their discovery in Major Powell's Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of [American] Ethnology for 1887–88 (1892, pp. xxviii–xxix). The Stevensons did not witness the ceremony itself, although they examined the little adobe house where it is held and saw the niche where the ceremonial bowls were stored. Mrs. Stevenson did, however, obtain a rather detailed account of the ceremony from the vicar of the Snake society. We know of no non-Indian who has ever seen the Sia snake ceremony, and no eye-witness account of it has ever been published.

There are indications that ceremonies with live snakes were once rather widespread among the pueblos of the Southwest. In 1581–82, the party of Father Rodriguez and Captain Chamuscado witnessed a ceremony at a pueblo located near the Galisteo ruins of today in which two live rattlesnakes were carried about: "They coil around the neck and creep all over the body" (Hammond and Rey, 1927, p. 347). Antonio de Espejo saw a ceremony at Acoma in 1583 in which live snakes ("vivoras vivas") were carried (Bandelier, 1890, p. 149). Live snakes have been kept in some pueblos, according to reports, for ceremonial purposes. Bandelier (ibid., pp. 306–307) believed that the reports he had of live snakes being kept in the Tewa pueblos where they were treated, "if not with veneration, at least with particular care," were "not unfounded." Matilda Stevenson (1914), too, has some allusions to snake ceremonies among the Tewa. Hodge (1896, p. 133) was told at Laguna that, prior to 1876, the Indians of one of the Laguna summer colonies "kept a large rattlesnake which they brought out in certain ceremonials." Fray Estevan de Perea's party saw a number of live rattlesnakes in an enclosure at Zuñi early in the 17th century, but they were told by the Indians that they were kept to provide them with poison for their arrow points (Bloom, 1933, p. 228). Hodge (1896, p. 134) was told by the Cochiti Indians that they had had a snake ceremony about 1865 or earlier. As early as 1910 Walter Hough (1910, p. 605) had come to the conclusion that "the Snake dance formerly must have been widely distributed among the Pueblo tribes." And we have a little more evidence now than he had then.

The only reason for believing that Cochiti once had a snake ceremony is that "an unusually intelligent Indian" told Hodge that they once had the ceremony and that they had introduced it into Sia, which had not had it previously. This evidence is virtually worth-less; Indians are forever telling you that their pueblo is better than, or ahead of, their neighbors in one respect or another.[23] And Sia's relations with Acoma, where the snake ceremony has actually been observed, are probably closer than Cochiti-Acoma relations. Hodge's inference that the Snake ceremony is dependent upon the presence of a Snake clan likewise is unfounded (Hodge, 1896, pp. 134–135). There is no Snake clan in Sia, and informants assert positively that clan affiliation is irrelevant to membership in the Snake society; at least four clans are represented by members since 1940.

Many years ago Fewkes (1895, p. 118) made a careful, point by point comparison of the snake ceremonies of the Hopi pueblos and of Sia and concluded that, despite a number of differences, "in essentials the Snake dance is the same in two widely separated pueblos." He called attention to the similarity between the Keresan word for snake and the Hopi word, tcua (1895, p. 139, n. 4). He noted further that words which he believed to be Keresan appear in the Hopi ceremony, and also that a personage appears which he thinks is foreign and possibly Keresan (Fewkes, 1897, p. 306). The words Fewkes thought to be Keresan are, as he spells them, Tca-ma-hi-ye, a-wa-hi-ye, yo-ma-hi-ye, and tci-ma-hai-ye.[24] We recognize them as names of warriors of the cardinal points (see "Cosmology"), and they sound to me like Keresan words.

*Weather control ceremonies.*—The Snake society performs both the summer, or wet, and the winter, or dry, ceremonies.

*Masks.*—The Snake society has only two kinds of masks: one mask of No'wira and four of Mokaitc (mountain lion).

*Membership.*—There have been nine male and two female members of the Snake society between 1940 and 1957. Four of the men had died before 1957. The last to be initiated, according to my data, was a youth who was inducted about 1950. Of the two women members, one had been bitten by a snake; the other had merely been treated by the society for some reason.

### KOSHAIRI AND KWIRAINA

The Koshairi and Kwiraina societies always go together in Keresan pueblo culture, with the possible exception of Acoma (White, 1943 a, pp. 307–308). They are not, properly speaking, medicine, or curing, societies; their functions appear to be primarily concerned with fertility. They are distinguished in mythology from other societies; Stevenson says that Koshairi and Kwiraina obtained their power directly from the sun, whereas the curing societies get theirs from animals (1894, ftn., p. 72). They were created at the same time and are closely associated with the sun—at least Koshairi is, Kwiraina is sometimes said to be associated with the moon—and have their home in the east near the place of sunrise. They are distinguished in the life of the pueblos today by their costume (see fig. 18 for Kwiraina; see White, 1935, pl. 3, for photograph of Koshairi at Santo Domingo; 1942 a, p. 125, for sketch of Koshairi at Santa Ana) and by their functions. Kwiraina and Koshairi are, in a sense, complementary societies. Either one may accompany the katsina dancers, but one of them must always be in attendance. Either one has charge of the so-called corn dance held in honor of the patron saint on August 15, and selects the men to carry the actitcoma (pole, standard) in this dance. But these societies are mutually exclusive with regard to membership; one may not belong to both societies. A member of either society may, however, belong to one of the curing societies. Finally, a member of the Koshairi society "could substitute for a member of Kwiraina, and vice versa."

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[23] See the Cochiti tale about their superiority over the Sia with regard to killing Navahos in Benedict (1931, p. 197).

[24] Fewkes cited these words in "The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi" (1894, p. 92), where he calls them "archaic words." It was later that he came to believe that they were foreign, Keresan terms, apparently.

Both Koshairi and Kwiraina societies used to have doorkeepers (cócgaina; cf. White, 1942 a, pp. 16–17, 129), i.e., a man who stood guard at the door of the ceremonial house while the society was in session to keep out any unauthorized person. In 1941, Koshairi had two cócgainas, one of whom died before 1952. Kwiraina has had no doorkeeper since 1941.

A person becomes a cócgaina as a consequence of a vow; he is not a member of the society whose meetings he guards.

The Koshairi and Kwiraina societies differ in their costumes. Koshairi seem to be more important in pueblo affairs than Kwiraina; at least they have more powers and functions. The Koshairi act as clowns and buffoons, especially at intermissions, during the corn dance on the saint's day, August 15, and, presumably, when they assist at a katsina dance. They amuse the people by "saying funny things"; sometimes they "talk backwards," or say the opposite of what they mean; they also indulge in obscene remarks. They amuse the people by comical and grotesque antics. The Kwiraina apparently do not have clown functions.

The Koshairi act as disciplinarians, too. If not enough people volunteer for some dance the Koshairi can conscript people; "they can make people do anything; you can't disobey them." The Koshairi may punish people for wrong doing, too: "they might strip a man or a woman in the kiva in front of everyone as punishment for not doing their duty." But the Koshairi are not as strict now as they used to be, it is said. Sometimes a young man takes part in a dance when he is intoxicated and the Koshairi do nothing to him.

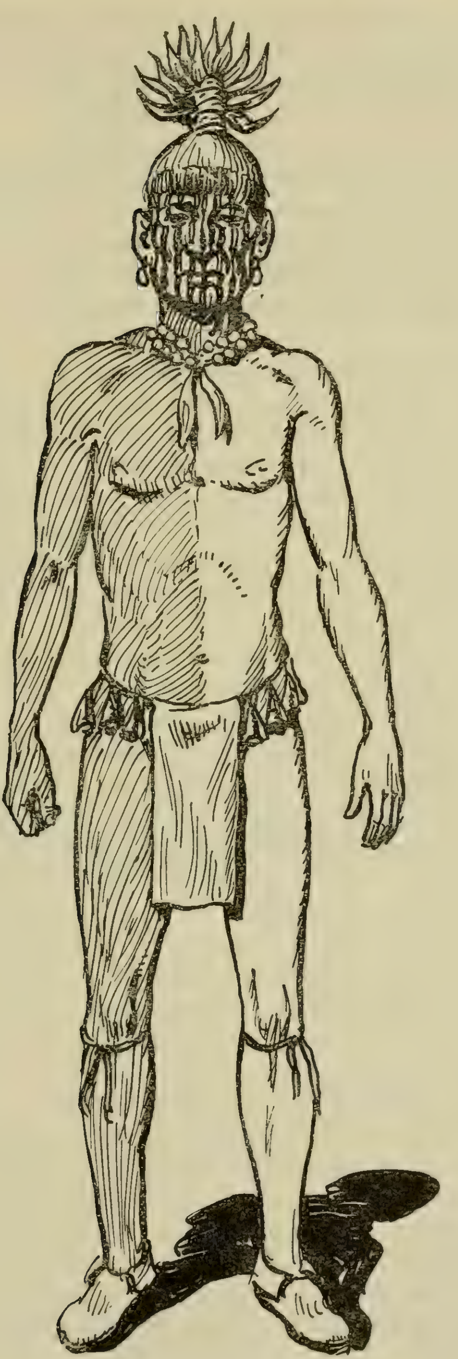

Figure 18.—Kwiraina.

One of the heretics at Sia who defected to an evangelical Protestant sect flatly defied the Koshairi and got away with it. Also, it is said that today the younger people could lodge a protest against the Koshairi with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, "so they are afraid to go too far."

According to one informant the Koshairi have complete charge of the equestrian impersonation of Bocaiyanyi. Another informant gave a quite different account (see "Equestrian Impersonations").

As I have already noted, Koshairi and Kapina are the only Dowahi tcaiyanyi, i.e., able to make foods appear magically in kiva ceremonies (see p. 155).

The Koshairi is said to be full-honawai'aiti, which pertains to curing, whereas the Kwiraina is only part honawai'aiti, But, for reasons which I cannot explain, Koshairi has none of the "badges" of honawai'aiti. Koshairi is capable of the first two of the three ways of curing, whereas Kwiraina is not qualified for any kind of curing ritual. Koshairi is sometimes requested to take part in the midwinter communal curing ceremony; it is said that Kwiraina could be, but seldom if ever is, asked to participate. Koshairi members have one iariko, the principal fetish of a medicine society, but they do not have the wooden slat altar or bear leg skins. The Kwiraina does not have iariko, slat altar, or bear leg skins. Thus, it appears rather clearly that Koshairi society has some curing paraphernalia and functions, although it is far from being a full-fledged curing society, whereas the Kwiraina society definitely is not a curing society at all.[25] I am inclined to believe that the Koshairi society may have acquired its curing functions and paraphernalia by taking them over from a curing society that had become extinct. Makeshifts of this sort are not at all uncommon among the Keresan pueblos. Koshairi and Kwiraina, as such, do not perform cures at Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, or San Felipe, but at Cochiti, according to Dumarest, the Koshairi cured by brushing but not by sucking, a more advanced technique (cf. White, 1932 b, p. 18, n. 33; 1935, p. 54; 1942 a, p. 127; Dumarest, 1919, p. 191).

The Koshairi society has a patron spirit whose name was not obtained; his home is in the east at Koaikutc, the place of the sunrise. The Kwiraina society has two patron spirits: Hoᴅoᴅo and Wíkori. They are represented by masked personages in Sia ceremonies. Whether they are to be reckoned as katsina or not is a question, since they have their home at Gyitihanyi, a place a little to the north of east on the eastern horizon of the earth, instead of at Wenima, the customary home of the katsina, which is always located in the West.

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[25] Stevenson (1894, p. 113) says the Kwiraina has a medicine to help women to become pregnant.

Kwiraina members have one mask of each of these spirits, and only they can wear them.

The "badge," or indicative characteristic, of Koshairi is a little bunch of shredded cornhusk, tied to the side of the head. Kwiraina's badge is a little bunch of the tail feathers of tcirika, the desert sparrow hawk (*Falco sparverius phalaena*) (fig. 19).

Both Koshairi and Kwiraina take part in the summer ceremonials for rain, and also in the solar ceremony, hanyiko.

The Koshairi society has no katsina masks, but Kwiraina has a great many: 12 Deer, 14 Duck, 10 or 12 Kotcininako, 2 Mountain Lion, 4 Bear, and 6 Salt katsina masks.

The Koshairi society has had seven male and three female members between 1941 and 1957. Two of the male members died during this period. Two small boys and two small girls were inducted between 1952 and 1957. It is a noteworthy fact that the former head of the Koshairi, Juan Pedro Herrera, became a member of the Protestant evangelical sect in the late 1920's or early 1930's. He withdrew at once from all participation in the Indian religion. What happened to his paraphernalia could not be ascertained.

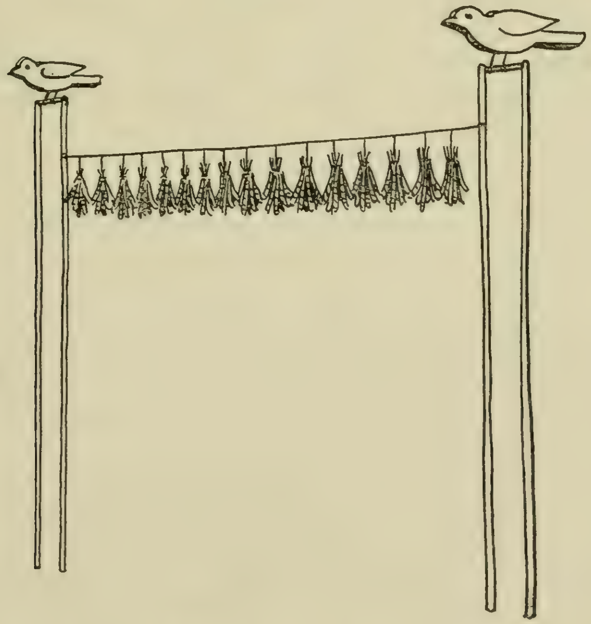

FIGURE 19.—Altar (átcɩn$^{yi}$) of Kwiraina society. The birds are the desert sparrow hawk (tciʟi·ka; *Falco sparverius*), mounted on slender sticks about a foot and a half high. A string is drawn between the sticks from which depend bunches of sparrow-hawk tail feathers, the "badge" of the Kwiraina. This altar is shown in Stevenson (1894, pl. xxviii).

Kwiraina has had six male and two female members between 1941 and 1957; two of the former died during this period.

As I have already stated, the Koshairi share the ceremonial house of the Giant society; at Hanyiko the Koshairi use another house borrowed for the occasion. Similarly, Kwiraina use the Flint society's ceremonial house except at Hanyiko when they move to another house pro tem. The Koshairi and Kwiraina societies of Sia and Santa Ana assist each other in their initiation ceremonies.

### KATSINA-GOMAIYAWIC

The Katsina-Gomaiyawic grouping is described by informants as two different and distinct societies, but they "always work together." They are so closely associated in fact that it was not until I went over a membership list, obtained as that of the Katsina society, name by name, that I discovered that some were Gomaiyawic, not Katsina. Katsina is, of course, the name of the rain-making spirit that is impersonated by people wearing masks. It is not customary, however, for a Keresan pueblo to have a katsina *society*. Gomaiyawic may be translated "messenger," or "scout" (White, 1943 a, p. 312). The Gomaiyawic are katsina who live in Wenimatse. They have knobs on their heads (see fig. 30), resembling the Koyemshi of Zuñi with whom they have been equated by Parsons and others (cf. Parsons, 1918, p. 183; Kroeber, 1917, n.1, p. 145. See Bunzel, 1932, pls. 23 and 24 for pictures of Koyemshi). Gomaiyawic appear to be more important, more "at home," at Acoma and Laguna than among the eastern Keres among whom we have found this concept at Santa Ana and Sia only where Gomaiyawic seems to be "just another katsina." At Acoma the Gomaiyawic come to the pueblo in advance of the katsina to announce the coming of the latter for a dance. In no Keresan pueblo other than Sia is there a Gomaiyawic *society*, as far as I know.

The Katsina-Gomaiyawic group has custody of many katsina masks (see p. 238), and its function is to dance for cultivated corn, just before it is planted in the spring and just before or just after the harvest in the fall. "They don't dance every year as the cacique spreads the work among other socities."

The Katsina-Gomaiyawic societies are definitely not medicine, or curing societies, although Gomaiyawic was said, by one informant, to be part-honawai'aiti and qualified to do the first two of the three ways of curing; he could not recall, however, any instance in which Gomaiyawic had done any curing. Gomaiyawic *could* be requested to participate in the communal curing ceremony but Katsina is never asked to do so. Neither society can perform the ritual for a deceased person. Neither society has iarikos, slat altars, or bear leg skins.

Katsina makes a sand painting and has paiyatyamo (fetish figures); Gomaiyawic has the latter only.

Katsina society's "fathers" are (1) Cárʋk'° (is this the Zuñi Shalako? *s* and *r* are often interchanged), (2) Onoma, (3) Saiyatac, and (4) Gomaiyawic. All of these are katsina and have their home in Wenimatse. There is no mask of either of the first two in Sia, but there are masks of the other two. My notes do not indicate a "father" for Gomaiyawic, who is said to be a "father" of the Katsina society.

Gomaiyawic takes part in both the summer and winter weather control ceremonies, but Katsina participates in the summer ceremony only.

Celestino Galvan was the head of both Katsina and Gomaiyawic in 1941; since his death each society has had its own head. Male membership in Katsina society was reduced to one, an elderly man, by the death of Celestino, but in 1957 an informant said he believed that a small boy had been pledged to Katsina, or to both Katsina and Gomaiyawic, by his parents. Katsina has had four female members between 1941 and 1957, two of whom died during this period. There has been some concern in Sia about the possible extinction of the Katsina society, but the community as such has done nothing about it. "They [the Katsina society] used to get help from Zuñi but they don't any more."

Of the four male members of Gomaiyawic between 1941 and 1957 two have died, and the only female member has died, also. Thus it would appear that this society, too, is threatened with extinction.

### CAIYEIK SOCIETY

Stevenson calls Caiyeik, or Hunters' society, the "society of the cougar"; she does not give the native name. Its patron spirit is the cougar, or mountain lion (*Felis concolor*). It has only male members; women are not admitted to membership nor are they permitted to enter their ceremonial chamber. Although it is a Hunters' society, members are said to be part-honawai'aiti and to have some power to cure; their medical functions may be limited to illness or accidents of men while on the hunt. They are never requested to participate in the midwinter communal curing ceremony, however, and informants could recall no instance in which they had done any curing. They have corn-ear fetishes and paiyatyamo, but no slat altar; and instead of bear leg skins they have the leg skins of the mountain lion. The function of the Caiyeik society is to assist the hunters in killing game. In addition to this, however, they participate in the winter ("dry") weather control ceremonies. Their "badge" is called kaotsaiyawa'nyi; it consists of two eagle neck feathers dyed with ya·katca (red ocher). The Caiyeik have no masks.

Stevenson (1894, p. 118) reported that the Hunters' society was almost extinct in 1890, that it had only its head and his assistant. There have been only four members between 1941 and 1957. Two of these died during this period; a third has not resided in the pueblo for some time; and the remaining member, the nawai, is so old that "he can hardly perform any ceremony."

### INITIATION

About 1930 the Caiyeik society of Sia invited the Caiyeik societies of Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Santa Ana to come to Sia to take part in their ceremony to initiate a new member. The following account of that ceremony was obtained by me from a Santo Domingo man who had assisted me in my study of his pueblo and who, as a gaotcanyi, accompanied the Santo Domingo Caiyeik to Sia. He witnessed, or took part in, almost everything that took place.

The head of the Caiyeik society at Sia went to the head of the Caiyeik society at Santo Domingo, with a handful of sacred meal and asked him to assist in the ceremony at Sia. When the time came the Santo Domingo Caiyeik set out accompanied by one gaotcanyi. The Caiyeik took his iariko (corn-ear fetish), his hicami (eagle wing feathers), and his mokaitc (little mountain lion effigy). The gaotcanyi took a quiver made of mountain lion skin and a bow and arrow. When they were near Sia pueblo the head of the Sia Caiyeik society came out, accompanied by a gaotcanyi, to meet them and to conduct them to the Caiyeik house. The hosts relieved their guests of their burden of paraphernalia.

It was about sunset when they arrived. They were escorted into the Caiyeik house and given cornhusk cigarettes. When they had finished smoking the Caiyeik nawai from Santo Domingo began to talk: "about how he got the meal and how he came there." The other visiting Caiyeik also talked. When they had finished they all shook hands. Then they dismissed the three visiting gowatcanyi; a room was assigned to them.

The next day the gowatcanyi went over to the War chief's house; the Santo Domingo man spoke of the War chief as Tsiakiya (cf. White, 1935, p. 38). Tsiakiya told them to watch outside the Caiyeik house all day and to allow no one to enter. They watched all day. When evening came the gowatcanyi went into the house where the Caiyeik were and ate supper. Then they were excused for the evening and given permission to visit the people of the pueblo.

The procedure of the next day was the same as the first.

On the third day two Caiyeik shamans went out to the mountains to gather hâdyaiyanyi (soapweed whips), and different kinds of grass (adanyi and sickuri), and oak (hapanyi) for use in the ceremony.

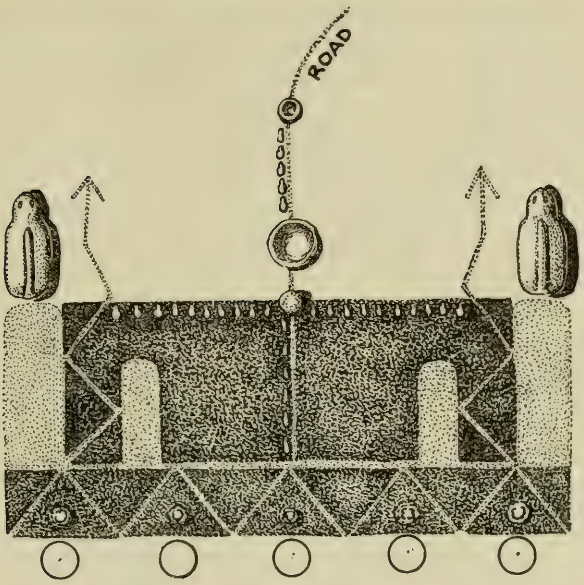

FIGURE 20.—Altar of Caiyeik society at initiation. The light stippled areas are yellow pollen; the dark areas are black powder. Five corn-ear fetishes (iarikos) are shown at the bottom of the painting; behind them sit as many members of the Caiyeik society (indicated by circles). A "road" runs from the door of the room to the middle of the painting. Two medicine bowls and a number of small animal figures are placed on this road, outside the painting; a stone fetish is on the spot where the road enters the painting; and little animal fetishes line the front (upper) edge of the painting. A large stone mountain lion (mókaitc) is on each side and in front of the painting.

They were not accompanied by the gowatcanyi. The other Caiyeik made the meal painting on the floor (the yapaicini) and laid out their iarikos, mountain lion figures, and other paraphernalia (fig. 20). In the afternoon the gowatcanyi came in and saw the altar. The medicinemen were sitting behind the yapaicini. After a while food was brought in and they ate. Then the gowatcanyi went out to visit in the pueblo. They went back to the Caiyeik house that evening. The medicinemen sang for some time.

The next morning the Caiyeik put a line of cornmeal on the ground around the house. This was the trap (tsiwikame);[26] should anyone step across this meal line he would be forced to become a member of the Caiyeik society. The gowatcanyi remained outside the meal line. The Caiyeik were in their house; "they're putting feathers on the things they're going to use and getting the grass ready (to put on the candidate)."

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[26] The Santo Domingo informant said that when one speaks of trapping a bird one uses the same word as for trapping a person and inducting him into a society. Traps sold in stores are called Wikame.

In the afternoon a medicineman came out and told the gowatcanyi to be ready that night. At sunset a Caiyeik came out and brushed the meal line away from the house. The gowatcanyi went to their room and dressed; they wore only a breechcloth and a woman's belt and moccasins. Then they returned to the Caiyeik house, entered and sat down and smoked. Then after a while the Caiyeik nawai put the three gowatcanyi in a line. The parents of the boy who was going to be initiated came in and sat down. The candidate had not come in yet. Then the Caiyeik nawai began to talk about how they were going to initiate a new member. He said that the candidate was going to be born again "just like a little baby;" he was going to become a new person. Then they began to sing. After a while two Caiyeik medicinemen (one on each end of the line of shamans sitting behind the yapaicini) got up and came out in front of the altar and began to whip disease, or evil influence, away with their hicami (eagle plumes). The other medicinemen were back of the altar singing. When the song was ended the two curing shamans sat down. Other songs were sung; sometimes other shamans would go out and whip disease away. Between songs the medicinemen smoked. They sang about seven songs.

Then the nawai of the Sia society stood up, picked up an iariko in each hand and went out in front of the altar. While he danced the others sang the following song: [27] iariko (corn-ear fetish) kokoya (sit down), iariko kokoya, iariko kokoya, kokoya, kokoya . . . a ! hawi (which) koyatc (game) dyanyi (deer) koyatc karotsiniya (for its, i.e., the game's sake) iariko kokoya, kokoya, kokoya . . . a !

At the end of the song the nawai put the iarikos down and resumed his seat. Then the Caiyeik shamans began a song, a slow song, this time. When they had finished two verses someone knocked at the door. The shamans stopped singing. The one outside the door asked if they would allow him to come in. They answered "Yes!" He then asked if Masewi and Oyoyewi and tsatyao hotcanyi (the outside chiefs, i.e., Masewi and Oyoyewi and the gowatcanyi) were there. "Yes!" was the answer. Then he asked if they wanted to have the "new born boy" brought in. "Yes!" "Will you believe in him?" "Yes!" Then they sang again, slowly. The door opened and a medicineman led the candidate in. The medicineman walked in slowly; he had an eagle wing feather in each hand, held backward over his shoulder. The candidate followed him, holding on to the tips of these plumes. A medicineman walked behind the candidate; he was dressed just like him. They had rings of grass around each arm at the biceps, and a sling from the right shoulder to the left waist, front and back.[28] There was a red spot on the navel about 3 inches in diameter, and around this was a circle of white bird down. He had a similar decoration on his back. (The Opi that I saw in a war dance at San Felipe at Christmas, 1928, were painted and feather-decked in this manner.) A bear-claw necklace, a buckskin shirt, and white moccasins completed the costume.

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[27] This song was recorded and deposited in the Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y. It was subsequently acquired by the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, Indiana University.

The medicinemen and the candidate walked in over a road (hiyanyi) of meal and stood in front of the first waicti (medicine bowl) until the song ended. Then the medicineman in the lead sat down, leaving the candidate and the other medicineman standing. This medicineman stood behind the candidate; he had a whip in each hand. This man was called rohona (a small animal of some kind; see White, 1944 a, for a full consideration of this concept.). They remained standing while the shamans sang another song. Then the Caiyeik nawai stood up. He came out and danced around the candidate. Then the medicinemen shook their rattles. The nawai crossed his hicami (eagle wing feathers) on the road of meal. The candidate stood on them and stooped forward. Rohona stepped forward and whipped the candidate four times with his whips. Then the candidate stood to one side. After a time the nawai crossed his plumes on the road again and the candidate stood on them. This time the rohona whipped him hard four times. Then the rohona whipped the nawai. All the Caiyeik shamans came out and were whipped. Then the nawai took the whips away from the rohona and whipped him (each person stood on the crossed eagle plumes while receiving his whipping). The nawai threw his whips over by the door, picked up his eagle plumes and went back of the yapaicini, where the other medicinemen were sitting, smoking. The candidate was back there, too; at some point after the candidate was whipped a song had been sung in which he was given a new name. The candidate—or, rather, the new member, since he had received his new name in a song that had been sung—was seated among them.

After a time the new member and rohona came out in front of the altar again. Two other medicinemen likewise came out and removed the entire costumes from the new member and rohona. One medicineman and one gaotcanyi escorted the new member and rohona down to the river where they bathed. The whips and grass bands were thrown into the river. They returned to the Caiyeik house. The parents of the new member brought in lots of food and put it down. Then the father of the new member began to talk. He said that he gave everything to the Caiyeik, the baskets, pottery, etc. He thanked them for initiating his son. Then the nawai gave the new member an iariko, a rattle, some hicami, mokaitc, and paiyatyamo. The new member's mother came forward with a basket into which she put his paraphernalia to take it home. The new member was escorted home. Everyone then went home except the Caiyeik and the gowatcanyi. They divided the food. The Caiyeik picked up their paraphernalia. It was almost sunrise when the gowatcanyi went to their room.

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[28] These were undoubtedly wicdyuma, one of the distinguishing features of the honawaiaiti.

The next day the gowatcanyi of Sia went out and got the visitors' horses. All the visiting shamans and gowatcanyi—from Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Santa Ana—set out for home together. They were accompanied by all of the Sia Caiyeik for about half a mile to the place where the roads for the three pueblos separated. There they said goodbye and the Sia shamans went back.

### OPI, OR WARRIORS', SOCIETY

The Opi group would more properly be called a scalp-taker's society, for merely to engage in warfare or fight with an enemy, is not enough to qualify one for membership. If a man killed an enemy and did not touch him he would not be qualified, or obliged, to join the Opi. But if a man kills an enemy and "gets his blood on him, and takes away his things," i.e., articles of clothing, his weapons, and fetishes, and above all takes the slain enemy's scalp, then he *must* become a member of the Opi. The informant was asked if a Sia who had served in the armed forces during World War II and had killed one of the enemy would become an Opi.[29] The informant replied, "No, because that was not the Indians' war." "But what if the Sia took the enemy's scalp after he had killed him?" "Well, in that case they *might* make him an Opi and put him through all the ceremonies." The last of the Opi, Cpo·na (cpona is the name of a pottery canteen), died about 1916; he had killed a Navaho near Sia.

In taking a scalp one removed all the skin of the head (excluding the face) upon which hair normally grows. The scalp was eventually tanned, "just like buckskin." We have no record of the care, bathing, and feeding of scalps at Sia as was practiced at some other Keresan pueblos (White, 1932 b, p. 13; 1935, p. 60; 1942 a, p. 305). The scalps that had been kept in the pueblo were buried with the last Opi.[30]

Only men were eligible to become Opi. The society had two heads, Masewi and Oyoyewi, the war god twins of mythology. They were probably the war priests, as distinct from War chiefs, in Stevenson's account. The head of the Opi is said to have been an officer of great importance in Sia: "He worked with the tiamunyi; he helped him to appoint the officers; opened hunts." The head of the Opi ranked next to the tiamunyi in some (but unspecified) respects, "ranking above Flint nawai in many things."

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[29] At Acoma during World War I the Kapina medicine society held a 4-day ceremony every month to help the American troops, which included a few Acoma, in France (White, 1943 a, p. 309).

[30] The last Opi at Acoma took the scalps out into the country and buried them (White, 1943 a, p. 308).

It appears that the Opi had important military functions in the days of intertribal warfare, but no one today knows just what these functions were. It is thought that the Opi, and especially the heads of the Opi, were the leaders in any communal military enterprise. They also had important ceremonial and magical functions; they performed a ceremony to receive a scalp into the pueblo, and, subsequently, performed a ceremony to safeguard the life of the scalp taker against the malevolent magical influence that was attached to killing and scalping.

The Opi society, scalp dances and ceremonies, and the care and custody of scalps within the pueblo are closely associated with the Flint society in Keresan culture generally. In Stevenson's day the Opi and the Flint societies had a ceremonial chamber together, and the Flint society played a prominent part in Opi ceremonials. The staff (yapi) of the former head of the Opi hangs on the west wall of the Flint society's ceremonial chamber today. Scalps kept in Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Santa Ana were tended by a Flint shaman (White, 1935, p. 60; 1932 b, p. 13; 1942 a, p. 305); in the first two of these villages the attending Flint shaman was also the head of the Flint society and cacique as well.

Although the Scalp takers' society is extinct in Sia today they still put on the scalp dance in which men dress like, and take the part of, Opi. Also, there are "animal Opi," i.e., men who have killed either a bear or a mountain lion and who have gone through a ceremony as a consequence of this killing. It is my impression that the "animal" Opi have been instituted to take the place of man killers and scalpers. Bandelier (1890, p. 300), referring apparently to Cochiti, says that "bear and puma killers appear in the scalp dance in place of man-killers." But we are not sure that killers of bears and lions did not become Opi before warfare and scalping ceased. We have evidence of animal Opi at only three of the Keresan pueblos: Sia, Santa Ana, and Cochiti (White, 1942 a, p. 132; one could become an Opi for killing an eagle as well as bear and lion at Santa Ana; Dumarest (1919, p. 199,) says that killing bears or lions was equated with killing a human enemy).

The costume of an Opi is shown in figure 21. He is wearing an entire tanned deerskin, the forelegs of which are tied beneath his chin; the main part of the hide hangs down his back. A whistle, made of an eagle wing-bone, hangs from a cord around the neck. He wears an undecorated buckskin kilt, in front of which descends one end of

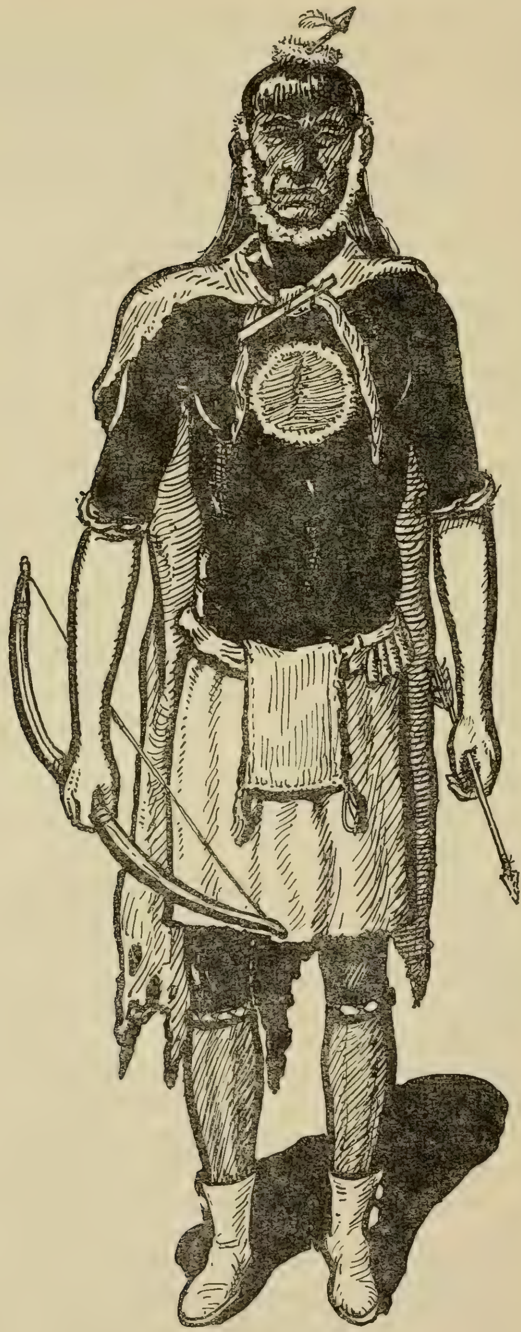


Figure 21.—Costume of an Opi.

a black cloth breech clout. On the left side, at the belt, are attached some copper jingles (yáracᴅyuma) made of pieces of copper in rolls. On top of the head is a ho·ᴅyuwιmι; this is an arrow to which a short, fluffy eagle feather (cpaiyak) has been tied. The face is painted with red ocher over which stcamun has been sprinkled. The face is outlined with white bird down (compare with the figures in Stevenson, 1894, pl. xxxiv). White bird down (wa·boctca) encircles his arms at the elbow and around his legs at the garters below the knees, and there is a circle of down on the top of the head (not visible in the illustration). The body (with the exception of the chest) and the upper arms and upper legs are painted black; the lower arms and legs are reddish-brown. Yucca leaves, split into narrow strands, are tied around his arms at the elbow and around the legs below the knees; woven garters, also, are worn below the knees. He wears buckskin moccasins but no sox. A reddish-brown disk, rimmed with white bird down, is painted on the chest (see Stevenson, 1894, pl. xxxiv).

### BEAR OPI

If a man kills a bear while on a hunt—and he would try to do so if he encountered one—and becomes the first man to touch it, he must become an Opi. He could, however, refrain from being the first to touch the bear. But someone must do this: "it would be a great wrong to let him lie there and not claim him." In any event, the first man to touch the dead bear must become an Opi. If the killer and first to touch the bear is honawai'aiti, he can take his choice of the maca'inyi, or bear leg skins, used by medicinemen in curing ceremonies. If the one who touches the bear first is not honawai'aiti, he must summon one to skin and cut up the animal. To do this he would go to one who is honawai'aiti in the hunting party and, handing him a handful of cornmeal (petana) which every hunter carries in a pouch, tell him that he has killed a bear and ask him to skin and cut it up for him.

One who is not honawai'aiti is not permitted to be present while the medicineman skins and cuts up the bear. The tcaiyanyi removes the bear leg skins first. He cuts the skin around the shoulder or the hip (to use the informant's language) and peels the skin down to the elbow or the knee, then cuts the arm or leg off there, leaving the bone and flesh in the lower part of the limb. The maca'inyi are taken home like this; the bone and flesh are taken out later. The best maca'inyi is the left forearm "because bears are left-handed." The foreleg skins are better than those of the hind legs.

After the honawai'aiti has cut off the maca'inyi he removes the rest of the skin and cuts up the carcass. He lays the entrails, testicles, and scrotum to one side, calls the one who touched the dead bear first who sprinkles itsa˙tyunyi (shell disk beads) on them, digs a hole and buries them. All of this time the bear is treated with the greatest respect. He is addressed as Grandfather (BaBa). His head is spoken of as squash (danyi); the meat, kinatí (fresh ear of corn); the skin, dískama (cornhusk); the feces, cebo·ta (corn smut). The bear is addressed as cottontail rabbit (Lekyu). "This is to avoid hurting the bear's feelings."

The bear skin and meat are taken back to the pueblo when the hunters return. They approach the village as warriors used to do when a scalp had been taken. The men of the pueblo go out to meet and greet the bear. They all sing scalp songs as the bear is brought into the village, but instead of saying "scalp" in the songs they say "bear." The men with the bear, followed by those who have come to greet him, circle the pueblo first. They then enter by way of the north plaza, go through it to the south plaza which they circle, then go to the house of the bear's "owner," i.e., the one who touched it first, with the skin and the meat. If, however, the bear has been killed on a hunt to provide the cacique with meat for hotcanitsa, he will be taken to hotcanitsa along with the deer and turkey, the men singing as they go. But the bear will not be kept there; after a time he will be taken to his owner's house. The owner is entitled to the bear's skin, apart from the leg skins, of course, and to the meat, which is eaten. "The best way to cook it is to roast it; it is fat and tastes like pork."

When the bear is brought into its owner's house the skin is laid on the floor on something to keep it clean. It is dressed like a dancer in the corn dance, male or female according to the sex of the bear: kilt and white sash, a few necklaces, wabunyi (shell gorget), etc., for a male bear; the black, sleeveless dress and many necklaces for a female. Almost everyone in the pueblo comes to see the bear, to sprinkle it with petana and to welcome it into the pueblo. The bear is addressed as BaBa regardless of its sex.

When everyone has come to welcome the bear, the owner skins the head, stretches the hide on a frame, and smears the inside with a thick paste of mi·ck'a·tc (earth used in plastering houses); this "sucks the fat out of the skin." No part of the bear's skin is tanned.

After the skin has had time to dry out, the owner calls a meeting in his house of all Opi who were involved in any way with the killing; the killer, in the event that he was not the one who touched the bear first, and the honawai'aiti who removed the maca'inyi, to decide when to hold the ceremony which will make him, the owner, an Opi, and also to decide which society shall perform the ceremony. Our notes do not specify the societies that are qualified to perform this ceremony; we would guess that only those which are full honawai'aiti are qualified. The owner takes petana to the head of the society chosen and asks for the ceremony. The nawai assembles his society members in their ceremonial chamber on that evening, distributes the meal to them, and tells them of the request, which they grant as a matter of course. On the following morning the medicinemen begin to vomit and fast for a 4-day period. All Opi must do likewise; also, they must meet with the medicinemen in their house each evening to sing.

On the morning of the fourth day the owner takes the bear's skin and bones to the house of the society that is to perform the ceremony. The medicinemen have laid down a sand painting and have put up their slat altar. They "dress the bear": they lay the skin on the floor; the bones, which have been painted with red ocher, are placed under the skin so that both bones and skin assume the attitude of life. The bear is not a full honawai'aiti so the tcaiyanyi make him one at this time. They make a rattle for him and provide him with hicami, wicdyuma, and bags of medicine.

The ceremony is held on the evening of the fourth day. The owner of the bear is allowed, for that occasion only, to wear the bear-claw necklace and whistle, and is permitted to talk and act like honawai'aiti. The owner and the honawai'aiti who removed the leg skins sit against the wall to the left of the altar, i.e., to the left of the medicinemen who are seated behind the altar. The bear is made honawai'aiti: they give him the paraphernalia they have made for him, put a piece of turquoise on his head, and tie a kaotsaiyawat (badge of honawai'aiti) beside the turquoise. There is much singing.

When the ceremony is over the bear's bones are gathered up and, together with his honawai'aiti paraphernalia, prayersticks, and itsatyunyi (beads of various kinds), done up in a bundle. The bear's owner and one medicineman take the bundle to the top of Dyami Kot (eagle mountain) on the west side of Sia pueblo. There is a tsapacroma (sacred place) there: a circle of stones with an opening on the east side; pieces of petrified wood lie within the circle. The bundle is buried near, but not within, the sacred spot "so no one will find it."

The owner and the medicineman then return to the society's ceremonial chamber. When they get back the ceremony comes to an end. The owner is now an Opi no longer. "When one kills a bear and touches him first one becomes an Opi. He ceases to be an Opi at the end of this ceremony. This ceremony sets him free." This means, apparently, that the ceremony renders the killer immune to any evil influence that might be associated with killing a bear.

### LION OPI

The ritual and procedure for a lion is much the same as that for a bear, but there are some exceptions. The killer, or rather the one who touches the lion first, may skin the animal entirely himself; no honawai'aiti is required. The lion is not brought into the pueblo with songs. He is not addressed as Grandfather but by his name, mokaitc. He lies in state, however, in his owner's house and everyone comes to see him, sprinkles him with petana, and welcomes him into the pueblo. A medicine society holds a ceremony for the lion as for the bear, at which time he is made honawai'aiti. The bones are buried at a tsapacroma north of Sia, at cpi·ya kot (hawk mountain). The lion's meat belongs to the one who claimed him at death; it is eaten.

There were about 10 or 12 Bear Opi and 2 Lion Opi in Sia in 1957. Only one man was both.

## GROUPS

There are some nonkinship groupings at Sia which do not fall into the class *society*, as I have used this term. We note the following.

### HOAINA

In 1957 there were about 13 men and 4 women members of this group. "One is really born into Hoaina," said an informant, "if your parents, or either one of them, belongs to Hoaina you must join, or belong, too." But it was said that one may join of his own volition, too. I learned of no mythological account of the origin of Hoaina. They have no slat altar and they do not make sand, or meal, paintings. They do not have an iariko or any other yaya (fetish) except a piece of petrified wood (dyatca'aicti), which is kept by the nawai (head) of the group. Apparently the only function of the Hoaina group is to put on masked dances, although formerly (as recently as 1928) they danced the Aiyakayatanyi, which is said to be similar to the Flute dance at Jemez. Hoaina owns four katsina masks: Berictca, Tsatcrati, Howi, and Ctiwictiwi. They have no ceremonial house of their own; they use the Katsina-Gomaiyawic house when they put on a dance. I have not encountered a group with this name at any other Keresan pueblo.

### SICTI

Anyone who is not a member of one of the societies, or who is not an officer, is a member of the sicti group, or class of people. When a sicti man is appointed to an office he ceases to be sicti, but resumes this status when his term expires. The sicti are, in effect, the common people and are usually referred to as hano (people) sicti (cf. White, 1942 a, p. 144). The sicti have a head, a man. One informant said that he was chosen by the body of sicti; another said that he was chosen by Tiamunyi or War chief. In either case, he serves for life. One informant asserted positively that the head of the sicti is always the head of the Singers, also. Andres Pino was the head of both the sicti and the Singers until his death in 1952. Actually, Andres was a member of the Snake society and hence should not have been sicti at all, but he was such an able man, so intelligent, and such a good composer, according to one informant, that he was chosen to lead both the sicti and the Singers. His predecessor was Jesus Baca Medina (Indian name: Dótcanitiwa), who was head of both the sicti and the Singers, but he, too, was a medicineman—the head of Kapina society. In 1957, Amado Shije was the head of both groups.

The sicti have no paraphernalia or house, and they do not make sand, or meal, paintings or perform any special ceremonies. They are said to be influential, however, in pueblo affairs, in settling disputes and in connection with the appointment of officers (which is not in accord with the data I obtained when I inquired about this subject specifically).

### SINGERS; DANCERS

The men of the pueblo are divided roughly into two age groups; the older constitute the Singers, the younger, the Dancers. The Singers are referred to as madaiko ("grapes", so called, perhaps, because they form a bunch while singing; see White, 1932 a, p. 72). The head of the Singers, as we have just seen, is the head of the sicti, also. His position is considered to be an influential one. He has some authority over the drummers, and, with the advice of some of the older Singers, he selects the men to carry the "pole" (actitcomi) in the dance for the Blessed Virgin on August 15. The head of the Singers has the power to initiate a dance, but he must obtain the permission of the War chief to put it on. Contrariwise, the War chief must obtain the permission of the head of the Singers on some occasions to have a dance performed. The Singers have no paraphernalia or house. The Dancers do not constitute a group; they have no head, house, or paraphernalia.

### KIVA GROUPS: DUAL ORGANIZATION

The normal and proper number of kivas in a Keresan pueblo (the western Keres—Acoma and Laguna—excepted) is two. As we have previously noted, Sia had two kivas in 1881. Later, one was destroyed and for many years there was only one. The second kiva was eventually rebuilt and this was the situation in 1957.

The people of Sia are divided into two kiva groups: Turquoise and Wren. Those who live north of an imaginary east-and-west line, drawn through the village between the north and south plazas, belong to the Wren kiva; those who live south of this line belong to Turquoise. In 1941, a good informant stated that if a person, man or woman, changed his residence from one half of the pueblo to the other upon marriage he would change his kiva affiliation accordingly;

in support of this he cited specific examples. In 1957 I was told that a person could (or would) retain his kiva affiliation even though he changed his place of residence from one half of the village to the other. The War chief may change the kiva affiliation of a person, or as many as he likes, in order to equalize the size of the two groups. Affiliation with a kiva is not, therefore, a hard and fast matter but rather one of convenience and expedience.

My 1941 data state that the War chiefs were in charge of the kivas and that they could change membership in kiva groups. A good informant in 1957 said that "sicti nawai is direct charge of the kivas." But he, too, said that kiva affiliation could be changed by the War chief. I do not believe that this necessarily constitutes a contradiction; more likely, I believe, it indicates a division of responsibility according to the occasion.

For a number of years only one group performed in the dance for the patron saint on August 15 when there should have been two. This was due, the Sia said, to the fact that their population was not large enough to muster two groups of sufficient size. But for many years they had but one kiva. Whether the people were divided into two ceremonial groups, Turquoise and Wren, during this time or not I do not know.

The kiva groups are the only expression of dual organization in Sia.

## CLANS

When Bourke visited Sia in 1881 he reported that they had the following clans: Tortolita [Dove], Bunchi [Tobacco], Oso [Bear], Maiz [Corn], Aguila [Eagle], Coyote, Pumpkin [Squash], and Huash-pa [Washpa] (Bloom, ed., 1938, p. 220; Bourke, 1890, p. 117. His two lists are alike except that Squash appears only on the later one). Stevenson (1894, p. 19) listed the following clans as extant in Sia in 1890: Corn, Coyote, Squash, Tobacco, Bear, and Eagle. She also names 15 other clans as having formerly existed but which had become extinct. Hodge (1910, p. 563) lists 16 clans as present and 21 as extinct. According to my census of the 1950's, the following clans were present: Acoma Corn, Sia Corn, Water, Bear, Tobacco, Antelope Washpa, Sia Washpa, Cochiti Washpa, and Coyote.

The correspondence between Bourke's, Stevenson's, and my lists is very close (table 29); Hodge's list is virtually without value. Dove clan appears only in Bourke's list. Eagle is in Bourke's and Stevenson's lists, but not in mine. Stevenson lists Washpa as extinct, whereas it is on both Bourke's and my lists. Washpa, incidentally, has been translated as dance kilt, cactus, buffalograss, etc. I identified a specimen of saltbush (*Atriplex canescens*) as washpa (White, 1945, pp. 561, 563).

TABLE 29.—*Sia clans*

| Bourke, 1881 | Stevenson, 1890 | White, 1950's |
|---|---|---|
| Dove | | Water |
| Tobacco | Tobacco | Tobacco |
| Bear | Bear | Bear |
| Corn | Corn | Corn, 2 lineages |
| Eagle | Eagle | Extinct |
| Coyote | Coyote | Coyote |
| Washpa | Extinct | Washpa, 3 lineages |
| Squash | Squash | [Squash[1]] |

[1] This clan became extinct before the end of my study.

The number of clans in a pueblo may and does vary: a clan may die out; a new clan may be introduced from another pueblo by marriage. Stevenson (1894, p. 19) reported that "there is but one member of the eagle, one of the bear, and one of the squash clan, but he is a Tusayan [Hopi] by birth . . . . There is but one family of the tobacco clan." I witnessed the extinction of the Squash clan during the course of my study: Lorenzo Lovato, born about 1823, died about 1937. The Eagle clan has apparently become extinct at Sia since 1890.

Stevenson stated, as we have seen above, that there was only one member of the Bear clan at Sia when she was there. But according to my records there were two, at least, and both women: (1) Dominga, born about 1883, wife of Nicolas Galvan; they had a son, Jose de la Cruz Galvan, who was governor of Sia in 1957; if Dominga had daughters they died without issue; (2) Trinidad, born about 1861, married Salvador Shije; they had two sons, John Saiz and Sebastian Shije, who died in 1948, leaving only two members of the Bear clan in 1957, both being males. In 1941 an informant told me "some years ago the Bear clan adopted a little girl. She was the daughter of Florence Trujillo, the Water clan woman from Cochiti who married into Sia. They asked for this girl before she was born. They adopted her but she died at the age of 6, about 1930. So now there aren't any female members of the Bear clan in Sia."

"There used to be an Antelope clan in Sia," an informant told me in 1941. It was the clan, or one of the clans, from which the cacique was chosen, as was the custom at Acoma (see White, 1932 a, p. 41). When the Antelope clan became extinct, a lineage of the Washpa clan was designated "Antelope," and became one of the groups from which the cacique could be chosen. But Antelope Washpa is merely a lineage distinguished by name within the Washpa clan; it is not an independent clan, and Sia Washpa and Antelope Washpa may not intermarry. One informant distinguished three lineages of Washpa: Sia, Antelope, and Cochiti, the last having been introduced from Cochiti, he said.

The Acoma Corn clan was said to have been introduced by marriage from Acoma not many years prior to 1952. The Sia and Acoma Corn clans are regarded as separate clans; intermarriage between them is permissible. However, the Acoma Corn clan will not be permitted to have its clan house in the center of the pueblo.

Results of a clan census made in 1957 are shown in table 30.

Table 30.—*Clan census of Sia, 1957*

| Clan | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acoma Corn | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Sia Corn | 8 | 11 | 19 |
| Water | 12 | 14 | 26 |
| Bear | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Tobacco | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Antelope Washpa | 34 | 20 | 54 |
| Sia Washpa | 9 | 11 | 20 |
| Cochiti Washpa | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Coyote | 88 | 77 | 165 |
| Unknown | 8 | 8 | 16 |
| Alien resident | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Total | 173 | 156 | 329 |

The Coyote clan has almost exactly one-half the population of Sia. Coyote and Antelope Washpa together have about two-thirds of the people. Antelope Washpa has more members than Acoma Corn, Bear, Tobacco, Sia and Cochiti Washpa clans combined. I can throw no light on the reasons for the difference in size of clans; some simply reproduce faster than others. The 16 "unknown" individuals in table 30 are children of alien resident wives whose clan affiliation is unknown, or whose Sia mothers are not known with assurance.

### CLAN ADOPTION

Children may be adopted into a clan to keep it from dying out, as we have already seen in the case of the Bear clan. San Antonio Pablo Salas, born about 1834 according to the 1904 census, was one of the few remaining members of the Water clan. So, during the early years of the present century, he urged that one of his daughter's daughters, Carrie Theodora, Acoma Corn clan, born about 1896, be put into the Water clan. This was done and the change proved to be successful, for by 1957, Carrie had borne 9 children, 5 of whom were girls. Two of her daughters were married in 1957 and had, between them, 10 children, 6 of whom were female. The Water clan at Sia was further strengthened when Florence Trujillo, Water clan, of Cochiti, born 1904, married Sebastian Shije (p. 213).

Luciana Lovato, Sia Corn clan, born about 1861, was afraid that her son, Jose Vigil Medina, might be made cacique, so it was said, so she had him adopted into the Coyote clan. "But this will not guarantee his escape," an informant opined. Jose Antonio Medina was born, 1910, into the Antelope Washpa clan and was subsequently adopted into the Coyote clan. Whether the reason in this case was to prevent his becoming cacique—since Antelope Washpa is one of the clans from which the cacique is chosen—or not I was unable to ascertain.

But perpetuation of clan is not the only reason for clan adoption; one may join, or be "put into," another clan because of sickness, as a therapeutic measure. As a matter of fact, the reasons for joining a clan other than the one into which one was born seem to be very much like the reasons for joining an esoteric society. The ritual and procedure of adoption is as follows:

Suppose that Jose's parents want to put him into the Coyote clan. Either parent takes a small handful of prayer meal (petana) and has Jose blow his breath upon it; after this is done the meal is always referred to as *tsats* (soul, breath), never as petena. Then the parent, or parents, wrap the meal in a cornhusk and take it to the head man of the Coyote clan. The clan head calls a meeting of all members of the Coyote clan (except small children). He tells them that Jose's parents wish to have him adopted by the Coyote clan. He then distributes the tsats (meal) among them, giving each one a pinch. The first person to receive the tsats will become a ceremonial parent of Jose, and his or her spouse will become the other parent. The ceremonial father-to-be will set the date for the adoption ritual; the health of the child will be considered here if illness has been the reason for the proposed adoption.

When the time for the adoption ritual comes, all of Jose's close relatives, regardless of clan affiliation, will assemble in Jose's house. All members of the Coyote clan (except young children) will assemble in the house of the ceremonial parents. The ceremonial parents bring water from the river—water from hydrants may not be used—and put it in large pottery bowls—metal tubs cannot be used. Then they put soap weed (*Yucca baccata*) into the water and make a lot of suds. The ceremonial father puts a pinch of ashes into the water to purify it—"ashes are the most pure thing there is," observed the informant; "they have just come from the fire." Then he blesses the water with a prayer.

Jose is then brought to the home of his ceremonial parents by his own father and mother. He will be dressed like the singers for the corn dance; a girl would wear a dress. Jose removes all his clothing except bis gee string; a girl would let down her dress from her shoulders. Then the bathing, or cleansing ritual, na·witca'nyi, begins. The ceremonial father scoops up a bit of suds in his hand and rubs them on his child's (Jose's) hair. Then he scoops up more water and rubs Jose's body lightly. Then the ceremonial mother bathes her new child, after which all the Coyote people bathe him. Jose then kneels on the floor by the bowl and his ceremonial mother washes his hair thoroughly. If the ceremonial father has no wife, his sister or other close female relative will perform this ritual. If the ceremonial mother has no husband, her brother or other close male relative will serve.

After the head-washing, the candidate is given presents of various kinds, first by his own father, then his mother, followed by everyone else who has brought presents for him. The ceremonial father gives his new child two ears of corn. "Then he preaches to him: he tells him not to think of the sickness for the relief of which he sought adoption, that tsitsetoc (which means both water and snake) has cleansed and cured him." He admonishes him to respect his new clansmen. Then the ceremonial parents take their new child back to his own house. His presents are carried by close relatives of the ceremonial father. When they get to Jose's house, his ceremonial father addresses him again, telling him that the washing has been done, that he has received presents, and that everything is going to be all right from then on. If the adopted child is to receive a new name it will be announced at this time. Then the child's own father talks: He asks the ceremonial parents to forgive him for causing them so much trouble, and they graciously forgive him. Then the child's own father excuses the ceremonial father, and everyone goes home. The adopted person now has all the rights and duties of a member of his new clan.

The adopted child will take exceptionally good care of the two ears of corn given him by his ceremonial father. He will plant the seed in the spring, apart from the regular planting, and tend the growing plants with great care until they mature.

### CLAN EXOGAMY

"Marrying into the clan of either parent is in opposition to the old law," according to Stevenson (1894, p. 19); but she goes on to say: "but at present there is nothing for the Sia to do but to break these laws, if they would preserve the remnant of their people, and while such marriages are looked upon with disfavor, it is the 'inevitable.'" My informants said that one should not marry into his own clan, and that a generation or so ago it was a "shame" to do so. Nowadays this rule is being relaxed "because the people are falling away from the old ways." There is another reason also, namely, relative size of clans (see below). The Coyote clan is so large that sometimes a member has little alternative but to marry within his clan or remain celibate. Out of a total of 94 marriages for which we have clan data (Chart 1), there were 8 marriages within the Coyote clan. There was

WOMEN

MEN

| | Acoma Corn | Sia Corn | Water | Bear | Tobacco | Antelope Washpa | Sia Washpa | Cochiti Washpa | Coyote | Squash | Un-known | Alien | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acoma Corn | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Sia Corn | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1 | | 5 | | | 1 | 15 |
| Water | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 | 5 |
| Bear | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 3 |
| Tobacco | | | | 1 | | 2 | | 2 | 2 | | | | 7 |
| Antelope Washpa | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | 6 | | 1 | | 13 |
| Sia Washpa | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 5 | | | | 7 |
| Cochiti Washpa | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Coyote | | 5 | 1 | | 2 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 8 | | | 4 | 31 |
| Squash | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Unknown | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 4 |
| Alien | | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 7 |
| TOTAL | 5 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 14 | 4 | 6 | 29 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 94 |

Chart 1—Census of marriages by clans.

only one other case of intraclan marriage among the 94: Juan Shije, born about 1862, Sia Corn clan, married a woman in his own clan. Juan Shije was cacique of Sia, but what bearing this may have, if any, upon his intraclan marriage we do not know.

We found two cases of marriage between Sia and Acoma Corn clans, but these are regarded as separate kinship groups. But we found only one marriage between the three named Washpa lineages: an Antelope Washpa man married a Cochiti Washpa woman.

Each clan has a male head and a female head; the latter is the "eldest daughter" of the clan. Female and male heads of clans in 1957 were: Sia Corn, Loretta Shije and Juan Shije; Acoma Corn, Vicentita Pino, Eliseo Aguilar; Antelope Washpa, Isidora Pino (who succeeded Rita Shije), and Jose Pino; Sia Washpa, Trinidad Gachupin and Jose Gachupin; Coyote, Martina Pino and Toribio Aguilar; Water, Theodora Shije, no male head; Bear, no female member, Jose la Cruz Galvan; Tobacco, Juana Rosita Moquino and Viviano Herrera. Male heads of clans assist the Tiamunyi in the selection of officers, as we have seen.

Only four clans have sacred bundles or fetishes; they are the ones from which caciques are chosen, namely, Sia Corn, Acoma Corn, Sia Washpa, and Antelope Washpa. Details of the significance of these paraphernalia were unobtainable, but the relationship to the office of cacique seems apparent.

The clan at Sia regulates marriage to the extent of clan exogamy. It is a mutual aid group, also, to some extent; one is closer to a clansman than to a nonclansman, at least theoretically. And some ceremonial functions are indicated by the possession of bundles or fetishes by the four clans mentioned above. More than this, clans at Sia have no functions so far as I could ascertain. Stevenson (1894, pp. 12, 112) emphasizes that family ties take precedence over clan ties in times of emergency, such as threatened starvation. I had no occasion to note the relative importance of family versus clan ties, but I feel sure that Stevenson's observation was sound.

## KINSHIP

### RELATIONSHIP TERMS

I have found it difficult to obtain data on relationship terms at every Keresan pueblo with which I have worked, and Sia was no exception in this respect. This is not due, I am sure, to a particular unwillingness on the part of the informant but rather to a genuine difficulty which he experiences in this area; he is not accustomed to thinking of relationship terms as a general kind of behavior. One informant said, in reply to the question, "what do you call your sister's son?" "I don't know. I don't have a sister." Genealogies of informants were used as far as possible, but even then difficulties were encountered and demonstrable errors were made.

I obtained several lists of relationship terms, more or less complete, from a number of informants in 1941, 1952, and 1957. When collated they show marked similarities, or identities, at some points and great variation at others. There was virtual unanimity with regard to terms for one's own immediate relatives: father, mother, son, daughter, and brother and sister. But I obtained five quite different terms for sister's daughter's daughter, and two or three terms each for some other relatives. Some of this variation is unquestionably due to error and misunderstanding. But part of it, without doubt, is due to actual variation of usage; the kinship system has been undergoing change at Sia.

Although I had no female informants for religious and ceremonial subjects, I obtained kinship terms from two women among the Sia heretics in Albuquerque.

Instead of presenting all of my data, I have selected those terms which, in my judgment, most reliably express usage in Sia in the years above indicated. Use of terms is indicated in the following figures in which letters have been substituted for the terms themselves. Most relationship terms are prefixed with a possessive personal pronoun: *sa-*, my; *ka-*, his, etc., either in direct or indirect address. A few terms, used in direct address only, are used without the possessive prefix: omoyɛ, yaya, tcitci, and ᴅaᴅa. In the following list of terms, m. sp. means "man speaking"; w. sp., "woman speaking"; and m. w. sp., "used by both men and women." The notation "m. sp." or "w. sp." does not necessarily mean, however, that the term is not used by the opposite sex; when we are sure that a term is used by one sex only we shall make this fact explicit.

### TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY

sanaicᴅia (A), "father"; indirect address and possibly direct also; m. w. sp.

omoyɛ (B), "father"; direct address only; m. sp. only. sanaicᴅia and omoyɛ appear to correspond with "father" and "dad," respectively, in our society.

ᴅaᴅa (K), "father," direct address only; w. (only) sp.

sanaiya (C), "mother"; indirect address and possibly direct also; m. w. sp.

yaya (D), "mother"; direct address only; m. and probably w. sp. Some articles of religious paraphernalia are called yaya.

saᴅyum (E), "brother"; direct and indirect address; m. (only) sp.

sahatctsɛ (L), "brother"; direct and indirect address; w. (only) sp.; hatctsɛ is also the word for "man" (M. C. Stevenson, Ms. 503; White, 1942 a, p. 162).

sakoyɛ (F), "sister"; direct and indirect address; m. (only) sp.

saaoc (I), "sister"; direct and indirect address; w. (only) sp.

samo·t[1] (G), "son"; direct and indirect address; m. and w. sp.

sama·k (H), "daughter"; direct and indirect address; m. and w. sp.

sánawi (R), mother's brother, sister's son; m. (only) sp.

sawá'a (S), sister's daughter, m. sp.; mother's brother, w. sp.

saʙaʙa (N), father's mother, mother's mother, son's daughter, daughter's daughter, m. sp.; some male informants designated father's mother's mother and mother's mother's mother saʙaʙa. Women call father's father, mother's father, son's son, and daughter's son saʙaʙa.

saomomo (M), father's father, mother's father, son's son, daughter's son, m. (only) sp.; some male informants called males in the third ascending (great grandparent) generation saomomo.

saraó (T), father's mother, mother's mother, son's daughter, daughter's daughter, w. (only) sp.

tcitci (V), "sister"; used by one informant to designate his own sister and his father's sister's daughter. So far as I know, the only other use of this term is at Acoma where it designates, in direct address, sister, and daughters of parents' siblings, m. sp., and brother, and sons of parents' siblings, w. sp. (Parsons, 1923 a, p. 200; Parsons, 1932, table I; Mickey, 1956, pp. 252–254). The Sia informant who used tcitci was one of the heretics living in Albuquerque.

There was complete uniformity among our informants with regard to terms, m. sp., for father, mother, father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, mother's brother, brother, sister, sister's son, sister's daughter; the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of father's brother and mother's sister; and the children and grandchildren of brother. Diversity was greatest among terms for persons in the second descending (grandchild) generation, second (grandparent), and third (great grandparent) ascending generations, and for the children of mother's brother.

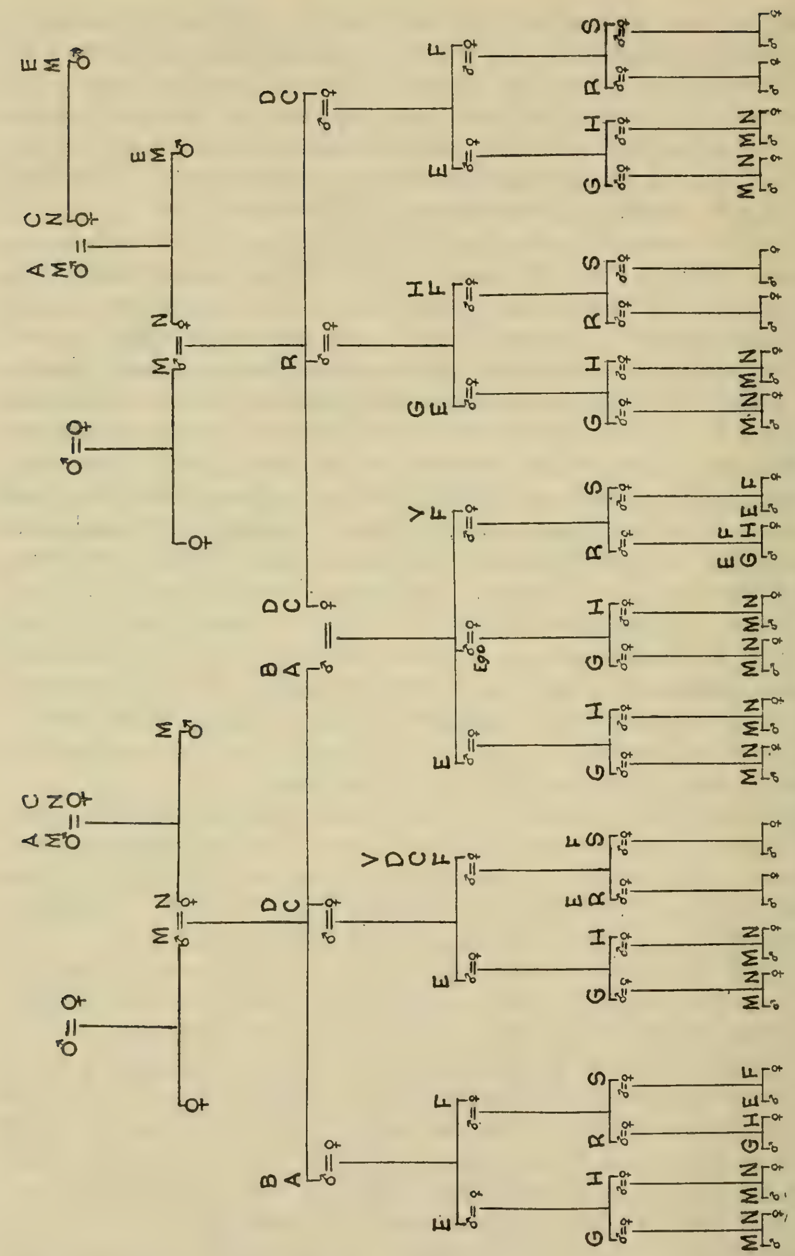
I obtained three different terms for sister's daughter's son and four terms for sister's daughter's daughter, m. sp. One informant called sister's daughter's son momo, and the reciprocal, mother's mother's brother, momo, which is consistent. Two informants called sister's daughter's son dyum (brother). One of them gave dyum as the reciprocal, but the other gave momo, which is not consistent (in another connection he did, however, call mother's mother's brother dyum). A fourth informant called sister's daughter's son moti, son, but did not supply a term for mother's mother's brother. Three of the above informants gave terms for sister's daughter's daughter that were consistent with those they had given for sister's daughter's son: ma·k with moti, koyɛ with dyum, and ʙaʙa with momo. But one informant who gave dyum (brother) for sister's daughter's son gave naiya (mother) for her brother; this would seem to be an error. "Brother" and "sister" would be the terms used in the Crow system.

As in the case of Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, p. 159) and Acoma (Eggan, 1950, pp. 237–238; Mickey, 1956), there appears definitely to be a trend in Sia away from a terminology of the Crow type to one of a bilateral system. Mother's brother was uniformly called sanawi, and some informants called his children moti (son) and ma·k (daughter), which is the Crow pattern, but others called them dyum (brother) and koyɛ (sister). Turning to the patrilineal side, all male informants called father's sister naiya (mother), and all called her son "brother" (dyum). With regard to father's sister's daughter, however, I got diversity. One informant called her naiya (mother) in 1941 and again in 1952; but on one occasion he called her sawá'a. Two other informants called her "sister" (koyɛ). And a fourth called her tcitci. Calling father's sister's daughter by the same term with which father's sister is designated (naiya) is consistent with Crow terminology, whereas calling her (koyɛ) expresses bilaterality. But the informant who called father's sister's daughter "mother" called father's sister's son "brother," which is inconsistent, both with Crow terminology and with his own term for father's sister's daughter.

All informants were alike in designating certain relatives sánawi (R), figure 22, with the exception of the son of father's sister's daughter's son. But everyone who called a man sánawi called his children either "son" and "daughter" or "brother" and "sister." The son of a "sister" (koyɛ) was always sanawi; the daughter, sawá'a.

I found two patterns with regard to great grandparents: some informants designated them with grandparent terms (momo and ʙaʙa), while others called them "father" and "mother". The latter would give us an alternation of terms in the ascending generations: a man's father is "father" and his father's father is grandfather (momo); but his grandfather's father is "father" again. This is the pattern that I found at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, p. 156). It is reasonable to infer that the children of a grandchild would be "son" and "daughter," also, but terms for these relatives were not obtained.

Bilaterality is even more pronounced in terms used by women than in the terminology of men (fig. 23). All cousins are "brother" and "sister," and their children are "son" and "daughter." The parents of "grandparents" are "grandparents"; no one gave us "father" and


Ego
A
B
C
D
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H
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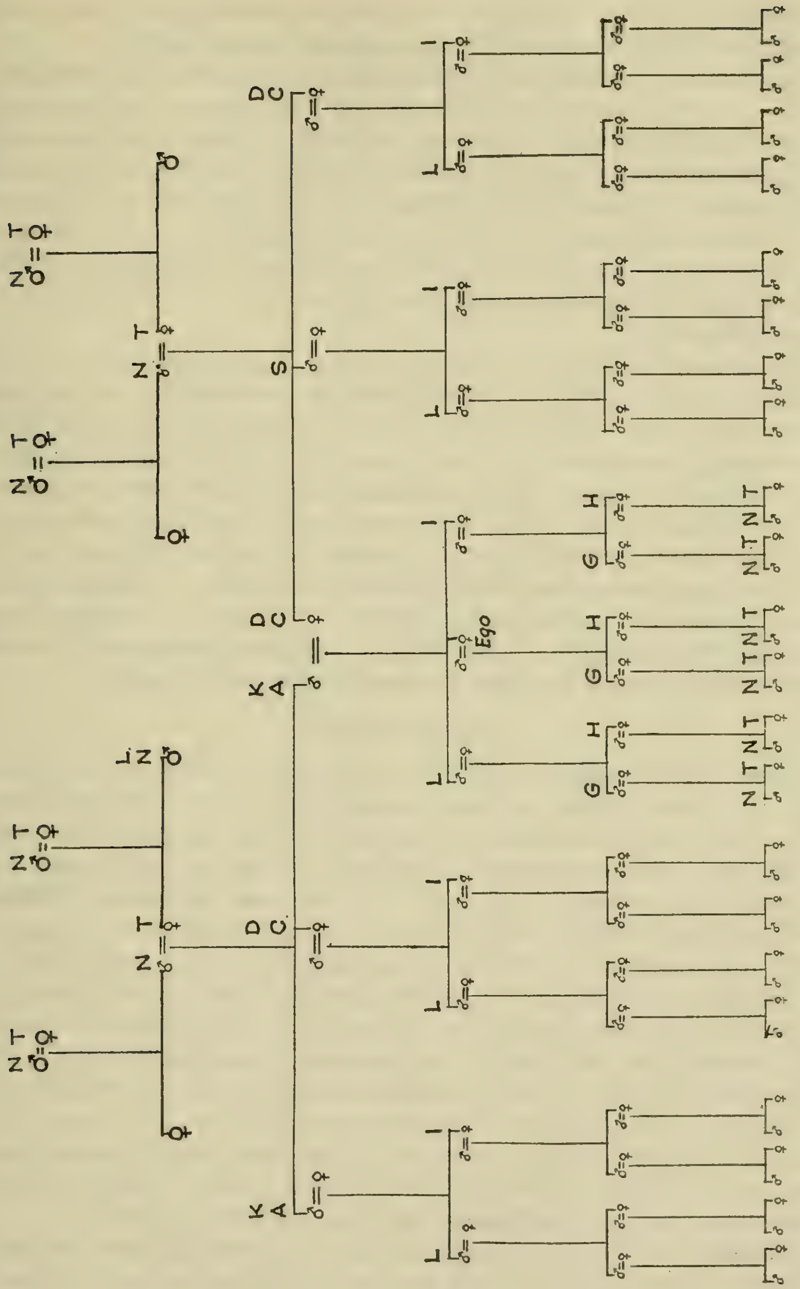
S
V
Y

FIGURE 22.—Terms of consanguinity, male speaking.


T
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Ego
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FIGURE 23.—Terms of consanguinity, female speaking.

"mother" for these relatives. But one informant gave "son" and "daughter" for the children of grandson and granddaughter.

Thus we see that the kinship terminology is in a process of transition from one of the Crow type to a bilateral and generational system: father's sister is classed with mother and mother's sister; both maternal and paternal cross cousins are called "brother" and "sister" by some informants. Of the features of the Crow terminology, only the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, m. sp., remains and even it is giving way in the usage of some informants. The terminology has undergone more change in ego's father's matrilineage than in his own.

The reasons for believing that the change is in the direction toward a bilateral system and away from Crow type terminology, rather than the reverse, are: (1) Some of the earliest observations of kinship terminology among the Keres give terms of the Crow type rather than of a bilateral system. (2) The change from a Crow terminology to one of a bilateral type would be the result of a breakdown rather than of development, and the culture in general is tending to break down. (3) There are indications that the influence of clan and lineage organization upon kinship terminology, which would tend to produce Crow features (White, 1939), is diminishing. (4) The influence of Spanish and American usage has been in the direction of bilaterality.

### TERMS OF AFFINITY

Apart from "husband" and "wife" there are only two terms of affinity: wati, male in-law; and ʙiyɛ, female in-law. The prefix *sa* means "my," as in the case of terms of consanguinity. But the prefix *cko* or *cki* means "he, or she, whose male in-law I am," in the case of ckiwati; "he, or she, whose female in-law I am," in the case of ckoʙiyɛ (White, 1942 a, p. 160, n. 141). The application of terms is shown in figure 24.

The terms sáokwi, wife, and satcu, husband, are not used much, if at all, in direct address. If a married couple have children, teknonymy is almost always resorted to, the husband calling his wife "so-and-so's mother," the wife calling her husband "so-and-so's father." If they have both male and female children either sex may be used in teknonymous reference; there is no preference for either boy or girl. If a couple have no children they usually call each other "father" and "mother." This is considered "kinder, more polite": "they call each other father and mother because they take care of each other."

Consanguine terms are commonly used in direct address for one's spouse's parents—"father" and "mother"—and for the spouse of one's child—"son" and "daughter." They may be, and probably are generally, used, in direct address at least, to designate the spouses of siblings of one's own parents and grandparents, e.g., father's brother's

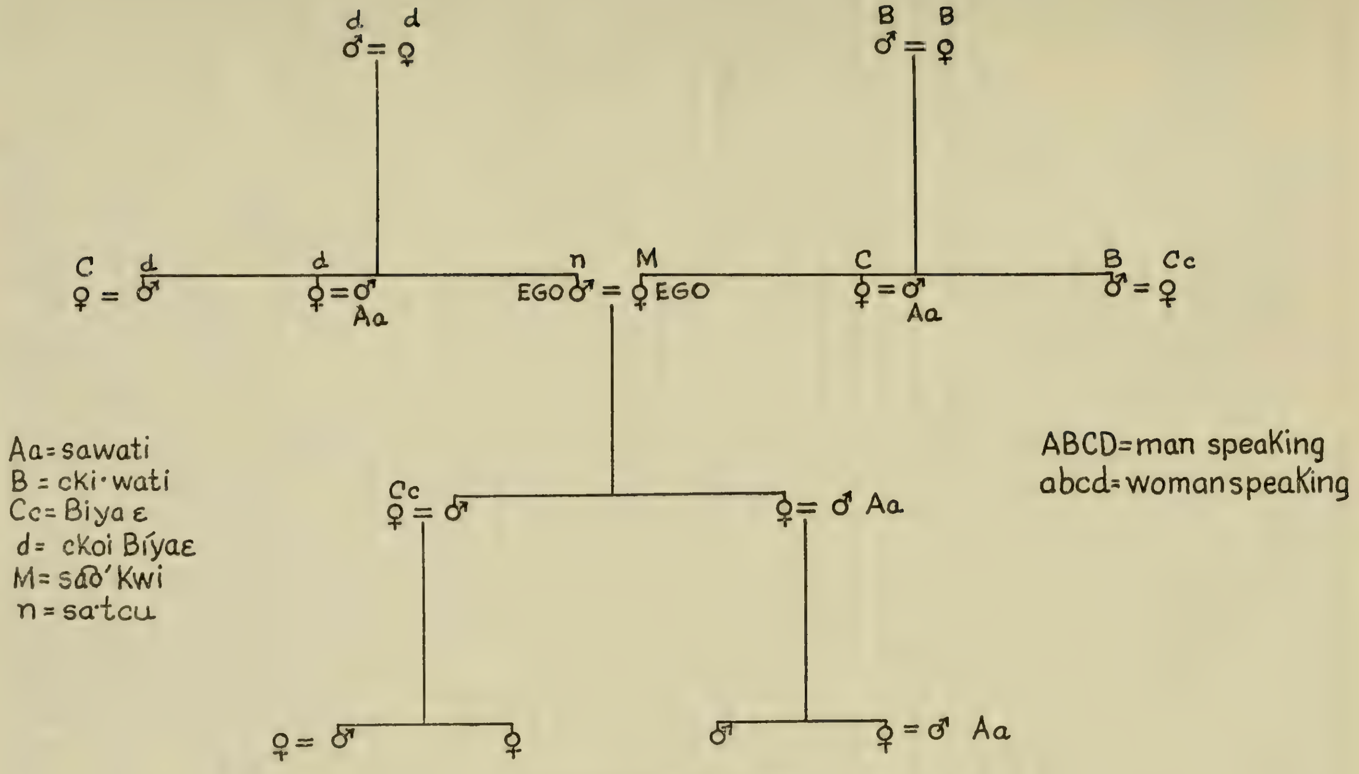
d d
♂=♀
B B
♂=♀
C d
♀=♂
d
♀=♂
Aa
n M
EGO ♂=♀ EGO
C
♀=♂
Aa
B Cc
♂=♀
Aa=sawati
B = cKi·wati
Cc= Biya ε
d= cKoi Bíyaε
M= sa͡o'Kwi
n = sa·tcu
Cc
♀=♂
♀=♂ Aa
ABCD=man speaKing
abcd=womanspeaKing
♀=♂
♀
♂
♀=♂ Aa

Figure 24.—Terms of affinity.

wife, father's mother's brother's wife, etc. m. sp., and probably w. sp., also.

## HOUSEHOLD GROUP AND FAMILY

By "household group" I mean those individuals who live and eat together in a house. "Family" here refers to the nuclear family composed of husband, wife, and their children. In some instances these two groups may be identical, but in many cases they are not. As we have seen, many adults in Sia do not have spouses, either because they have never married or have been widowed; they always live with others; no one lives alone. Some unmarried women bear and rear children; they, too, live with others. In general, I believe it fair to say that the household group, rather than the nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the community; the members of the household obtain their food, clothing, and other necessities from this group, and all who are able to do so contribute to the subsistence of the group. It should go without saying that mutual aid takes place also between households. Here are a few examples of household groups (I am not using the real names of the individuals involved):

(1) In 1957: Pablo, a man in his seventies, has been a widower for several years; he had one child who died. Anna, 23, a daughter of a sister, or half sister, of Pablo lives with him and keeps house for him; she is unmarried, but has two or three children.

(2) In 1941: JPP, a very old man, blind, a widower, the head of a medicine society, owns the house; his wife, who bore some 10 children, died many years ago; PP, 41 years old, a son of JPP, has never married; one daughter, Pt, and three sons—JB, S, and F—of Is, a daughter of JPP. Pt is unmarried but has a baby; JB, S, and F were without spouses at the time; and, lastly, Js, a half sister of Pt. JPP does virtually no work; he is too old, and blind besides. JB is a "good worker"; S and F are young "but they eat the most." Pt does the housework for the whole household. Js, who is only 9 years old, helps Pt take care of her baby and does a little work. Is, a daughter of JPP, and her husband Sj—the parents of Pt, JB, S, and F—used to live in JPP's house, also, while Pt was away at school. But when Pt returned Is and Sj moved into a house that he had built.

(3) In 1941: JS, a widower in his sixties, and his daughter LS, unmarried, who has a daughter, GS, who also is unmarried but has a son. JS supports the family, with the women doing the housework. Their house became so dilapidated as to be untenable so they moved into the home of AG, husband, and MG, wife, and their three children; MG is a daughter of JS. But JS is having a new house built, and when it is finished he and his daughter, granddaughter, and great grandson will move into it.

(4) In 1938: NG and his wife, CM, lived in a house owned by CM; they had one child, D, a boy of 3. CM died and NG and his son moved into the household of RG, a sister of NG's mother; RG is a widow and has three or four children.

In the 1950's, many households consisted of a nuclear family only, and the tendency is in this direction, as is indicated by the construction of new houses to accommodate couples after marriage.

## INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

### CONCEPTION, BIRTH, INFANCY, AND CHILDHOOD

#### CONCEPTION BY MAGIC

If a wife who remains childless desires to have a child she may appeal to one of the following societies to help her: Koshairi, Kwiraina, or Katsina-Gomaiyawic. The reason for this choice, according to one informant, is that these societies are not honawai'aiti and do not have iarikos (but, as we have observed earlier in discussing societies in general, another informant stated that Koshairi and Gomaiyawic were part-honawai'aiti and that Koshairi has one iariko). The society will hold a ceremony for her in their house, the woman being present. Sometimes her husband will go through the ceremony with her. It consists primarily of singing, dancing, and prayer. When the ceremony is over the head of the society gives her a paiyatyamo (a little stone anthropomorphic figure) to take home with her; she keeps it for a few nights and then returns it to the society.

A childless wife may ask a society—any society that has masks—for a shiwana ówak (shiwana baby; see pl. 9, *a*). Data on the ritual of presentation, if any, were not obtained, except that the society gives the owak a name at that time. The woman puts the owak in a tiny cradleboard and takes care of it as if it were alive.

#### PREGNANCY

Few restrictions are put on a woman during pregnancy. She may sleep with her husband during the first 5 months, after which they must sleep apart. She may eat or drink anything she wants during pregnancy. A pregnant woman who belongs to a society that holds a ceremony at kacaidime or hanyiko is not permitted to take part in it because to do so she would have to fast, and pregnant women must eat in order to nourish the unborn child. On the other hand, she must not eat "too much corn for this would make the baby too fat." One informant said that an expectant mother should not stand in an open doorway, as this would make delivery difficult. She should not sew with a sewing machine, as this would entangle the umbilical cord. It seems likely that these beliefs are optional, or are peculiar to families; had they been standardized all informants would have cited them.

No restrictions at all are placed on a man while his wife is pregnant except the one aforementioned: he may not sleep with her after the first 5 months.

### CHILDBIRTH

Mrs. Stevenson witnessed all of the activities attendant upon the birth and naming of a baby at Sia about 1890, and has given us a vivid and moving account of the events (1894, pp. 132–143). My account differs from hers at some points, but corresponds closely with it at others.

As the time for delivery draws near, the expectant mother takes a handfull of prayer meal (petana) to the midwife she wishes to have help her.

### MIDWIVES

There are a number of midwives (tsaiyawaiya) at Sia. They are appointed by Tiamunyi and tcraikatsi. I obtained the names of seven midwifes in Sia in 1954; one of them however had become a member of the Holy Rollers and declined to continue to serve. Collectively, the midwives are called tsaiyawaiya yayatitcra. One of the women acts as leader of the group. They have a kotcininako fetish which is kept by one of the midwives; she is the granddaughter of Gye·iro, the last cacique who served as midwife (in the old days, it was said, the cacique was the obstetrician of the pueblo).

One woman, Reyes Galvan, has some paraphernalia that is used in very difficult cases of childbirth, but she is not a midwife. She inherited the paraphernalia from Latiyɛ, a woman who belonged to the Fire society and with whom she lived. Reyes is not a member of a curing society.

### PARTURITION

When labor begins two or three midwives go to the house of the expectant mother; the group always includes the leader of the tsaiyawaiya yayatitcra and the one to whom the prayer meal had been given. The midwives brew a tea of sprigs of kanyi (*Juniperus monosperma*). As soon as the baby arrives the midwives put the mother to bed and give her a drink of hot kanyi tea.

I obtained no data on the parturition itself, but Mrs. Stevenson has a full account (1894, pp. 132–43). The mother was assisted by her father who was the head of a medicine society and by a "doctoress." Virtually all the assistance was of a magical nature, with the possible exception of massaging, or pressing, the mother's abdomen. The doctoress, said Stevenson, "seemed perfectly ignorant and unable to render any real assistance" (1894, p. 136).

After the baby arrives a midwife ties, then cuts, the umbilical cord. The afterbirth (wacanyi) is put into a pottery bowl: into a cooking pot (aᴅáoc) if the baby is a boy; into a waicti (a bowl for soup or water) if a girl. It is sprinkled with petana and taken down to the river where it is buried.

The baby is bathed by the midwives. The one to whom the mother took the prayer meal is the first to bathe it; she becomes the baby's mother as a consequence. No one is allowed to see the newborn baby except the midwives, the baby's mother, and possibly the mother's mother. After the baby is bathed, it is put into a cradleboard (cradleboards are said to be made ritually—they may be "given life" perhaps by a medicineman or society—but no data were obtained on this point). The midwives then send for a Snake medicineman (or a female member of the Snake society), a packet of prayer meal being the vehicle of the prayer request, as usual. He comes with his bag of medicines and his eagle wing feathers (hicami). He talks to the child, prays, and "preaches to the mother and the child." He drives sickness and evil influences away with his eagle feathers. Then he chews some medicine and blows it out of his mouth in a spray over the baby. He now gives permission for anyone to come in and see the baby; prior to this time the baby would have been vulnerable to any evil influence that may accompany a visitor. A person who had been bitten by a snake would be especially dangerous to the baby because he would injure both mother and baby with the snake's poison that had remained in his system. The Snake medicineman is given a small basket of flour (inawi) which must have been ground by the mother. The midwives are given baskets of flour, too.

After the Snake tcaiyanyi has left, the father of the newborn babe ties cords made of native grown cotton around the baby's ankles where they remain until they fall off—although the father "may cut them off if they stay on too long."

### NAMING

The midwife who has become the baby's ceremonial mother goes to the baby's house each morning and evening of the first 4 days after birth to bathe the baby. On the morning of the fourth day, before sunrise, the midwife goes to the baby's house and takes him, or her, outdoors toward the east. As the sun rises, the midwife presents the baby to its sun father and gives the child a name. Then she brings the baby back to the house and returns it to its mother, pronouncing the child's name as she does so. This ends the duties of the midwife, and she is "dismissed."

The mother remains in bed for 4 days after her baby comes. She may not drink water, but only kanyi tea; she may be permitted to drink coffee or tea, also, if it is hot. The mother may eat almost anything she likes in the weeks that follow childbirth, but there are some things that she should avoid. She should not eat peaches or pork because they produce pus. The wood rat, ckawac (*Neotoma*), is not eaten because he eats puslike material that is found on cactus plants. She cannot eat watermelon because that is "raw water," i.e., not brewed tea. Beans are not eaten for a reason that I neglected to ascertain.

The mother should drink kanyi tea for a specified time after childbirth. Clans vary with regard to the length of time specified: Coyote clan women are required to drink the tea for 1 month only; the Wacpa clan requires 2 months; and there is one clan, or perhaps a lineage within the clan, whose name was not ascertained, that requires its mothers to drink the tea for 4 months. The mother is not permitted to have sexual relations during the time that she is required to drink the tea.

When a mother's tea-drinking period has expired, she and her grandmother go to a place on the south slope of Sia hill. There is a big rock there called yaya kapc (yaya=mother; kapc="where anything is sitting down"); this is the mother of all the females in the pueblo. Mother and grandmother take the last of the kanyi branches to this place and deposit them there; they address prayers to the yaya and ask her to release the mother from the kanyi. Then they return to their homes.

The father periodically bathes the baby with a strength-giving medicine for 6 months or a year.

Stillborn babies are not buried in the churchyard cemetery. One informant said that they were wrapped and buried in the floor of a back room in the house of the mother; another said that they were taken outside the pueblo "toward the north," i.e., in the direction of Shipap, and buried there. "It is rare," says Stevenson (1894, ftn., p. 135), "for a Sia woman to die in childbirth; or for a child to be stillborn." We have no record of a woman dying in childbirth, but, it is said, babies occasionally do, and we have a record of a specific instance. Aberle (1932, p. 347) found "the rate for stillbirths . . . [at San Juan and Santa Clara to be] 1.6 percent as compared with 3.4 percent for the white population."

Some Sia women in the 1940's and 1950's have gone to Government hospitals to have their babies, but in smaller percentages than in other neighboring pueblos, according to the impressions of doctors, nurses, and some of the Sia themselves.

### AGE AND CHILDBEARING

I ascertained the age of 24 women, selected more or less at random, at the time of the birth of their first child. One had her first baby at the age of 17 years; 3 at 18 years; 4 at 19; 2 at 20; 3 at 21; 2 at 22; 4 at 23; 3 at 24; 1 at 25; and 1 at the age of 30 years. The average age at the time of the first baby was 21.4 years. These figures, like those for marital status (p. 42), indicate that women at Sia have not tended to marry and have children while still in their teens; and the figures on marital status seem to indicate that the tendency has been toward later marriages and childbearing.

The span of years during which women bear children is quite long in some instances. In 1957 there were 7 women who had borne children over a period of 20 years or more: 2 had a span of 20 years; 1 of 22; 2 of 23; 1 of 25; and 1 of 28. This means that such women are still bearing in their forties. Of 9 women noted in 1957, one had borne her most recent child at the age of 40; 1 at 41; 2 at 43; 2 at 44; 1 at 45; and 2 had borne their most recent child at the age of 48.

There were 11 large families in Sia in 1957. Of these, 1 woman had borne 6 children; 3 had borne 7 each; 5 had 8 each; 1 had 9; and 1 had borne 10 children. Two women were especially noteworthy: one had her first baby in 1931 at the age of 20; by 1957 she had borne 8 children, the most recent of which had been born in 1956; the other had her first baby in 1921 at the age of 25; she had borne 8 children by 1957, the most recent of which was born in 1955.

### NAMES

I have uniformly experienced difficulty in obtaining information pertaining to names and naming among the Keresan pueblos. As I have previously suggested (White, 1942 a, p. 165), this may be due to a feeling that a name is very personal and sacred thing, and one should not divulge much information about names lest one be magically injured thereby. To give someone your name is to give him some "power over you."

Anyone can give a person a name after the first name has been bestowed by the midwife on the morning of the fourth day of life; one simply gives the person an ear of corn and pronounces the new name. Stevenson (1894, ftn., p. 141) says that the first name given usually serves a female for life, but that males frequently get new names after some noteworthy event, such as making a long journey or performing some valorous deed. My data state that a person is given a new name when he or she is adopted into a clan or inducted into one of the societies (the Opi excepted).

My data on names are meager. Everyone has an Indian name and a European language name, the latter having been instituted for purposes of intercourse with the Whites. On many occasions informants knew the Indian names of persons who had lived, and perhaps died, before 1900, but could not remember their Spanish names, which no doubt reflects the relative importance attached to these names. A woman adopts the European surname of her husband at marriage, and children take the surname of their fathers. But there has been considerable uncertainty and instability with regard to these surnames; a group of related persons will appear on one census under one name, and years later they will be listed under a different name. The only reason for this that could be elicited from informants was "I guess they changed because they thought that that [the former name] was not their *right* name." This, no doubt, is another indication of the lesser importance of the European name. In 1957 there were only about 11 European language surnames in use in Sia, excluding about 3 that had been introduced by men who had married into Sia. Of the 329 Sias in 1957, about 67 were named Pino; 48, Shije; 43, Medina; 32, Galvan; and 29, Gachupin (Spaniards who settled in Latin America were called *cachupin*), wives being counted as having the same surnames as their respective husbands. Only 2 Sias bore the name of Aguilar; both were old men. In recent decades, and especially since World War II, there has been a tendency to give babies Anglo-American names (Mark, Edward, Grace, Helen) rather than Spanish-American names (Jose, Ysidro, Refugia), which is in keeping with the growing influence of Anglo-American culture.

Some Indian names are said to be "just names," i.e., they have no other meaning in the Keresan language and have no English equivalent; Ha’a͡iᴅ́yuwitsa, for example. Some are names of things in the Sias’ habitat (Hatyayeitiwa, a yellow bird), an item of material culture (Cpo·na, a pottery canteen), or a mythological figure (Tsamahiya). One name, Ka’a͡o′tiyɛ, was translated one person going out into the open, or winning honors or advantages. Some names of men end in -tiwa, which in this context means man, although tiwa is not the ordinary name for man: Gacᴅyatstiwa, Rainbow Man. Names ending in *ɛtsa*, or *tsa*, are women's names. Cakak is the god of the north. Cakaktiwa is a man's name; Cakaiyɛtsa, a woman's name. But in most instances, I believe, one cannot distinguish a man's name from a woman's name. And names give no indication of clan affiliation. I add the following examples of Sia names, first for men: Ctiya͡ı′tiwa, Tsiwa͡ı′wonyi, Masewi (the elder war god), Ctimoyɛ, Ho·waka (‘sky’), Cinoha͡ı′ya (one of the warriors of the cardinal points), Ye·siro. Names of women are: Gaiwacro, Hocetiyɛtsa, Haᴅawi (flour), Tsiyati, Kamoyɛ, I·tiyɛ, Tsiʙiyɛ, (Tsiʙi, Sandia Mountains).

Personal names are not used in social intercourse among close relatives. For relatives not very close, personal names may be used, but only when a kinship term precedes the name.

### CHILD REARING

My data are meager on the subject of child rearing, in part because I had so little opportunity to discuss it with women, and also because of limited opportunity for direct observation. A few general statements may be set down as having some value, however.

The cradleboard was still used in the 1950's, but "much less than it used to be." Sometimes the baby is put in the cradleboard for only a few hours a day. In older days, the baby was kept in it until weaned. The Government doctors and nurses tend to discourage the practice (Aberle, 1932, p. 341).

Mrs. Stevenson was impressed with the expressions of great delight with which the baby, whose entry into the world she witnessed, was received by every member of the household, young and old alike. I, also, have been impressed with the same phenomenon; everyone, without exception, seems obviously to take great delight in babies and young children. I have never seen, or learned of, any indication of jealousy on the part of a child toward a younger sibling. On the contrary, children, both boys and girls, love to play with their infant siblings and to take care of them. Sometimes little girls hold and carry about babies and small children but little smaller than themselves. No amount of pains or patience seems to be too great to lavish upon an infant.

Babies are not permitted to cry unattended; they are picked up and cuddled (see also, Aberle, 1932, p. 341). The mother often gives a baby her breast if it continues to cry. Children are very rarely scolded, although they may be admonished not to do something. Whipping or beating is, I believe, unheard of. There is some resort to frightening children as a disciplinary measure; we have already seen that children are warned not to tread on the roof of the sacred subterranean chamber, for to do so would cause their feet to become deformed. How extensive this practice is, and what use is made of supernatural bogies, I cannot say.

In Sia, as among other pueblos, the death rate among babies and young children has been very high as compared with white populations and with pueblo populations of greater ages (Aberle, 1932, pp. 344–347, for a medical and statistical study of San Juan and Santa Clara, which resemble Sia). One reason for this is lack of proper sanitation and hygiene; another is improper feeding. The former custom among Sia mothers was to permit their babies to eat anything they could chew and swallow, and even to encourage them to eat "grown-up" foods. "Indian mothers are proud of having their offspring take solid food at an early age," says Aberle (1932, p. 341); "children are encouraged to partake of food that has been prepared for the adults, consisting largely of beans, chili, and tortilla." They were occasionally fed large fat worms found within cornhusks "to prevent stomach aches from over indulgence in corn. Fried ants were rubbed on the legs to make them strong and straight" (ibid.). Since the 1930's, however, the Government doctors and nurses have done much to improve the methods of child care at Sia.

Children play a great deal, boys and girls often playing together. They seem never to fight, although one will occasionally cry, as if in frustration.

One thing that I can point to, but cannot delineate in any detail, is, without question, a tremendously important factor in shaping the personality of the growing child. This is the fact that every child frequents many households daily and has intimate association with many individuals outside his own family or household. Every child has several mothers and fathers and has daily contact with them. His own parents may well come first in his life, but they are far from being set apart and above other people. Moreover, he has close and daily association with the children of many households, in his own house, in their houses, and in the village streets. Every day and every hour prepares the child to live in a small, compact, and close-knit community.

Another fact of unquestioned significance is the almost complete lack of privacy in personal, family life in the pueblo. The secret societies can retire to their ceremonial chambers and shut out the rest of the world—some of them have guards or doorkeepers to insure seclusion and privacy—but the family cannot. Some families now lock their houses when they leave them to go to some other part of the pueblo, but this is a safeguard against outsiders who may enter and wander through the pueblo rather than against the citizens of Sia. But when a family is in its house any relative, and probably any member of the pueblo, may enter. Probably no one would or could refuse to admit any member of the village who presented himself at the door. It is not considered bad manners for one to look through windows to see who is in a room; and to draw blinds to prevent this would almost certainly lay one open to a suspicion of wrongdoing—if not worse. In many instances several, if not all, members of the household sleep in the same room. There were a number of people, children as well as adults, in the room in which the birth observed by Mrs. Stevenson took place. It is impossible, therefore, for a child to grow up in Sia without acquiring a great amount of information on many aspects of life.

Nowadays children go to school from the age of 5 or 6. Some attend the Pueblo Day School on the edge of Sia; others attend the U.S. Indian School in Santa Fe. In the latter place, children undergo a broadening experience. They not only become acquainted with a non-Indian institution, but they get to know children from other pueblos and also from non-pueblo tribes, such as the Navaho and Apache. No adequate, or even superficial, study of the effect of boarding-school life upon a pueblo child has been made, so far as I know. But it would certainly be important, and no doubt revealing. It is a fact that acquaintances made there sometimes persist as friendships, or culminate in marriages, after schooldays are over.

In the old days, before children were obliged to go to school, they were initiated into the secrets of the katsina cult at about the age of puberty, or even earlier, at an age when they could comprehend such matters and appreciate the necessity for secrecy. Nowadays there is a reluctance to initiate children into the lore of the kachinas before they go off to boarding school lest they betray some of these secrets while away from home. Children learn to take part in dances, such as the "corn dance" on August 15, at a very early age. They may also be "given" to a medicine society at an early age. There are no special ceremonies or rituals for either girls or boys today, as far as my knowledge goes.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS OF CHILDREN

In 1942–43 Havighurst and Neugarten (1955) made a comparative study of Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, Navaho, Papago, Sioux, and "Midwest" children; the latter lived in a small, midwestern, White, American community. Sixty-seven Sia children, 37 boys and 30 girls, ranging in age from 5 to 18 years, were included in the study. The reader must, of course, consult their report for a complete account; I cite only a few of their interesting, and perhaps significant, findings here.

These authors found the Sia "not unfriendly, but they are shy. They do not meet strangers as easily as do the Hopi" (ibid., p. 10). The principal source of happiness of Sia children was "receiving food, gifts, money"; only the Navaho among the eight groups studied rated this source higher than the Sia. The best thing that could happen to a Sia child was "receiving clothes, property"; but all groups rated this very high, or highest, of good things. Sia boys rated "illness or injury of self" as the principal source of sadness; the girls felt that loss of property was the chief source. Death of someone rated high as a source of sadness among most of the groups. Danger from animals was rated as the principal source of fear by Sia children; they rated fear of the supernatural much lower than did Hopi children. All groups rated aggression by others as the principal source of anger, with the Sia near the top of the list. Bad behavior aggression was rated as the principal source of shame by the Sia; this was in sharp contrast with the Zuñi, who rated embarrassment before others as the principal source. The worst thing that could happen to a child, according to the Sia, was accident or illness to self; the Sia led all other groups in this respect.

There were some interesting sex differences in the responses of Sia children. In addition to the one already mentioned, 16 percent of the boys cited meeting social expectations as the best thing that could happen to a child; none of the girls mentioned this. Sia boys (10 percent) rated fear of the supernatural much higher than did the girls (6 percent). In some respects the Sia resembled the White children of "Midwest" more closely than they did some of the Indian groups. Havighurst and Neugarten conclude that their findings show "Sia to be a community of relatively high moral constraint" (ibid., p. 138). The Sia children, along with the Hopi, Zuñi, and Navaho children, tend to place the father "in the gift-giver and happiness-bringer roles," but Sia is exceptional in that the "father is also the chief bringer of negative emotions to boys" (ibid., p. 74). "As a praiser, the father is . . . mentioned less frequently than the mother in Zia . . . As a blamer, the father is mentioned more often than the mother for Hopi, Zuñi, and Zia" (ibid., p. 196). "For Zia, we have a pattern similar to that of the Hopi, in that the family is less exclusively the focus. In Zia, however, the mother alone obtains a higher proportion of responses. It is interesting that not a single Zia girl mentioned the father as a praiser or blamer. The Zia children use the category 'elders' more frequently than does any other group, and the category of age-mates less frequently" (pp. 120–121).

## MARRIAGE

As we noted earlier in our analysis of marital status, marriage is certainly not essential to the conduct of social life in Sia: a very high percentage of both men and women have had no spouse (see p. 44). And the percentage of the unmarried seems to have been increasing. We have no evidence, however, that the community as a whole or the individuals in particular suffer because of the high incidence of celibacy.

### CONTRACTING MARRIAGE

There is no ritualized courtship. Out of the long and close association which characterizes life in this small community, men and women simply discover that they wish to marry each other. Virtually all marriages, apparently, are initiated by the persons themselves who wish to marry, although, of course, parents and other close relatives may, and frequently do, try to influence them to a greater or lesser degree. I learned of a case in which a young unmarried woman became pregnant. She divulged the name of the man involved and her father insisted that they be married and they were. There are instances of deep love and frustration, too. A close friend (not an informant) told me that when he was a young man he was much in love with a girl and she loved him dearly. But the girl's mother had heard, and believed, that the man was having intimate relations with another woman and refused her daughter permission to marry him. The girl so desired to marry him that she proposed that they run away together. But the man declined to do this. Eventually each married another, but they continued to cherish their love for each other.

When a young man and a girl decide they wish to marry they must first seek their parents' permission. Older people, including widowers and widows, also must obtain the permission of their parents, if living, and of other close relatives, including their children if they have any. If the parents approve of the match the couple must then ask their godparents for their approval. If all the parents approve, a meeting of the close relatives of both parties will be held, at which time the proposed marriage will be discussed; each group of relatives selects one of their number to speak for them. It may very well be that all the relatives, and indeed the entire pueblo, may be aware of the course of events before the meeting of relatives takes place. But this meeting is the formal way of dealing with the situation. Unanimous approval by the relatives constitutes marriage, and the couple leave the meeting as man and wife. No gifts are given or exchanged.

Whatever may have been the custom in former times, the tendency in recent years is for the newly married couple to live in a house of their own if they can. If this is not possible, they may live in the household of the parents of either bride or groom or even in the home of some other relative.

Shortly after marriage the people of the pueblo are invited to the home of the newly married couple to eat.

The "Indian marriage" may be followed by a Catholic wedding in the church when the priest comes to the pueblo on a regular visit, such as at Christmas or on the day of the patron saint, August 15. The couple are supposed to tell the priest well in advance so that he can announce the event. He also asks if there is anyone who has any reason for opposing the marriage and requests any such person to come to him privately and divulge the reason. "The priest usually charges $5 for performing the ceremony," an informant told me in 1957, "but if they are too closely related, or if there is some other objection, he will charge more, even as much as $25 sometimes."

Since World War II a few couples at Sia and at other, nearby pueblos have been married by a justice of the peace instead of by the priest, I was told, but I have no sure data on this point. Nor do I know what percentage of couples are content with the Indian style marriage and what percentage desire the Catholic ritual as well.

In the old days, say informants, if parents and godparents refused permission to a young man and girl, they could not marry. But in recent years there has been a growing tendency for young people to disregard the wishes of their parents and other close relatives. One informant stated that this was due largely to an increased regard for the laws of the State of New Mexico with respect to marriage. The law says that persons of 18 years of age or over may marry without their parents' consent, and more and more young people are availing themselves of this law to justify themselves if they wish to go counter to their parents' wishes. In one case that I learned of, a young couple were denied permission by their parents so they went to Jemez and were married there. They were married again later in Sia.

### EXOGAMY

First of all, one is supposed to observe the rules of clan exogamy. In addition, informants say that one should not marry anyone who is "too closely related to you." But the definition of "too close" seems not to be very definite or explicit. One should not marry anyone designated as "brother," "sister," "uncle," "aunt," "nephew," or "niece."

In the 1950's there was one case of cohabitation in Sia that was branded as incestuous by one informant who said that it was "shameful," and he was loathe to tell me about it. It was a case of a man and his sister's daughter. The Agency's census lists both as unmarried but living in the same household together with two other unmarried males.

### SEXUAL PROMISCUITY

No systematic study of this subject was made. We have little specific information, therefore, upon adultery and sexual intercourse among the unmarried. We know, however, that a high percentage of adults are unmarried and that a number of unmarried women are mothers (see p. 45). But I cannot even guess at the extent to which promiscuity obtains in the pueblo, or whether it has tended to increase or decrease since, say, Stevenson's day. Stevenson (1894, p. 20) believed that much promiscuity prevailed in Sia, that offers were made by men, married as well as unmarried, to the mother of a girl who had just reached puberty "for the privilege of sexual relations" with her, "the mother holding her virgin daughter for the highest bidder." One of my informants repudiated this allegation with much indignation and scorn. Stevenson (ibid.,) also observed that "though the Sia are monogamists, it is common for the married, as well as the unmarried, to live promiscuously with one another; . . .

That these people, however, have their share of latent jealousy is evident from the secrecy observed on the part of a married man or woman to prevent the anger of the spouse."

I have data on one case of adultery, however. A man returned unexpectedly from sheep camp one night and found his wife in bed with another man. The aggrieved husband went to the governor and asked that his wife and her lover be punished by whipping. The governor heard the case, but no whipping was administered. However, husband and wife were brought before the pueblo council, which ordered that the wife be forgiven. The husband and wife "made up" then and there and the case was officially closed.

It is said that fiscales, also, can try cases of adultery.

### DIVORCE

The Sia, like other pueblos in the Rio Grande region, declare that divorce never takes place. They frequently add that they are Catholics and hence cannot divorce a mate. The reason given is not a sound one, I believe, but the facts seem to warrant the claim that divorce does not occur. We have numerous cases where a widow or widower has remarried. But I found no instance within the pueblo in which a remarried person's previous spouse was living; one or two Sia who had left the pueblo—such as Willie Moquino, the son of Benina Moquino, one of the expelled heretics, had divorced a spouse and remarried. The claim that divorce does not occur in Sia appears, therefore, to be a valid one.

### WIDOWHOOD AND REMARRIAGE

There is no attitude in Sia that tends to discourage a widow or a widower from remarrying; nor is there an attitude that encourages them to marry, so far as I could discover. And about all that one can say about practice is that some do and some do not.

### MARRIAGE WITH NON-SIAS

None of the pueblos is wholly endogamous, although the great preponderance of marriages are intrapueblo unions. The tendency to marry outsiders has increased, I feel sure, within recent years; the Sia have many more contacts outside the pueblo now than formerly. Even so, there were only 9 alien spouses in Sia in 1957. And, apart from the Protestant heretics who had left Sia, I learned of only two Sias who were married and living in another pueblo in 1957, namely, two women who went to Jemez.

We have records of some men and women who married Sias in the 19th century and went to Sia to live: (1) Vavalita Galvan (Kaiyuti), Coyote clan, who is listed as 75 years old in the census of 1904, came from San Felipe. She was a widow in 1904; we do not know who her husband was. She was the mother of Reyes Galvan, born 1860. (2) Juan de Jesus Gachupin, born about 1859, clan unknown, came from Jemez to Sia, where he married Lucia Plata. (3) Jose Moquino (i.e., Joe Hopi) was born of a Hopi mother and a Navaho father and was named Ctimeoka. His mother died when he was a small boy and his father sold him to the Sias for 15 sheep and 2 oxen (M. C. Stevenson, MS. 2100). Jose was living in Sia as the husband of Juana Rosita Galvan, Tobacco clan, when the Stevensons were there. He assisted Colonel Stevenson in compiling a vocabulary in 1887 (J. Stevenson, MS. 507). He was the Snake society man whose photograph appears in plate XVII of "The Sia," according to one of my elderly informants. (4) Hetrude, the Navaho woman living in Sia when Mrs. Stevenson was there. She had been left in Sia by her parents when the Navaho were being taken to Bosque Redondo about 1863 (Stevenson, 1894, p. 132). Mrs. Stevenson witnessed the birth of one of Hetrude's children, Juan Bautista ("James," for James Stevenson) Medina. Hetrude was loved and cherished by her foster parents. She was adopted into the Coyote clan. (5) Jesus Salas, born about 1883, married a Navaho who lived in Sia for a time and bore two sons. She left the pueblo eventually to return to her own people, taking her two boys with her. (6) Pierce Kanateywa, born about 1885, a Hopi, came to Sia to live as the husband of Luciana Shije; they had a son, Riquel. Pierce returned to his Hopi home, where he died in 1954. (7 and 8) Fermina and Geronima Cordero were born in Cochiti, the daughters of the cacique and his Mexican wife. They married Crescencio Toribio and Emiliano Galvan, respectively, and lived in Sia for a number of years. They enjoyed all the rights and privileges held by Sia women with respect to witnessing or participating in ceremonies and in other matters. Fermina bore two daughters; Geronima remained childless, apparently. I was unable to ascertain their clan affiliation. They eventually returned to Cochiti, taking the two girls with them (they appear on the Agency's census rolls for 1934, 1941, but not for 1948). (9) Emma Gallegos, a Mexican, was born in Cochiti in 1906. She married Remijio (Ray) Salas and went to live in Sia. After she had been there about 3 months, Remijio requested the War captain to convene a meeting of the pueblo council so that Emma might be introduced to the cacique (cf. White, 1943 a, p. 321, for account of reception of foreign spouses at Acoma). The meeting, attended by men only, was held in the hotcanitsa. Emma was brought into the council chamber; she wore stockings but no shoes; she was visibly agitated and frightened. The meeting was opened by the War captain, but it was Remijio who presented his wife to the cacique, who formally accepted her. A subsequent meeting, called by the governor, was held in Remijio's house. At this time Emma was obliged to promise that she would be faithful to the Sia and their customs, that she would live out her life in Sia and be buried there.

"There was some criticism of Remijio for bringing a Mexican woman to Sia as his wife," an informant told me in 1941. They were afraid that she might give non-Indians information pertaining to the religious life of Sia. But in 1941 they had accepted her at least provisionally. My informant said that they would keep a close watch on her and if, after some years, she had demonstrated her fidelity to Sia customs and had convinced the people that she could be entrusted with the secrets of ceremonial life, she would probably be admitted to all the ceremonies and be permitted to participate in them and perhaps even be admitted to one or more of the societies. She was adopted into the Coyote clan; Rosalie Medina became her clan mother. She was living in Sia in 1957 and had borne eight children, all living at that time.

(10) Frank Delgarito is a Navaho, born in 1924. He worked in shipyards before World War II and then served for 3 years in the U.S. Navy. In 1946, he married Andreita Salas, Sia Corn clan, whom he met at the Santa Fe Indian School, and came to live in Sia. There was no ceremony of adoption for Frank, but he was required to swear, in a council meeting, that he would live in Sia and that he would "obey all the rules." Once in 1952 when he was hitchhiking I gave him a lift, and we had a talk with no one else present. He spoke English very well. He said that he spoke the Keresan language fairly well, also; his wife took much pains to teach him. He said he had had a hard time learning the Sia customs, but that the people were kind and helped him. He took part in the dance for the saint on August 15, and has been appointed to a minor office. In 1957 they had two children living; they had lost one. Frank did no farming; he was employed by a Federal governmental agency. He wore his hair cut short and had heavy sideburns.

(11) Elmer A. Bell was a White man, born in 1918. He married Seferina Pino, Coyote clan, and lived with her in Sia for a time. One child, a girl, was born to this union. Elmer left Sia and his whereabouts were not known to my informants.

(12) Florence Trujillo, a Cochiti Indian, Water clan, born 1904, married Sebastiano Shije and came to Sia to live. She became a member of the Fire society. She had five children, only one of which was a girl (Sofia Ramona). (13) George Gachupin, of Sia, married Maria Fragua of Jemez at her home in 1946, then brought her to Sia to live. Her clan affiliation was not ascertained. In 1957 they had three daughters and three sons. (14) Marcelino Gachupin of Sia married Crescencia Panana of Jemez at Sia in 1957, where they established their residence. Maria's clan affiliation was not ascertained. (15)

Joseph Manuel Reed, a Jemez Indian, whose father was a Laguna married and living in Jemez, married Rafaelita Galvan, Sia Corn clan, of Sia, in Albuquerque in 1954. They established their residence in Sia. (16) Vincente Shije of Sia married Juanita Charlie of Acoma at San Fidel in 1953; they reside in Sia. Juanita's clan affiliation was not ascertained. (17) Marcus Shije of Sia married Dorothy Pedro of Laguna (Paguate) in the Sacred Heart Church in Albuquerque on March 5, 1955. They were married after the Indian custom in Sia on April 17, 1955, and established their residence there. Dorothy's clan affiliation was not ascertained. (18) Jose Medina, a Sia, born 1915, Coyote clan, married Elizabeth Cimmaron of Acoma. She appears on the Agency's rolls for 1948, but it is said that she did not live in Sia. In 1957 they were said to be "separated."

We have records of 17 people who married into Sia and lived there. Eleven were women; 6, men. Fifteen were Indians; 1 was Anglo-American; 1, Spanish-American. Of the 15 Indians, 4 were from Jemez; 3 from Cochiti; 3 Navahos; and 1 each from San Feliipe, Acoma, and Laguna. In 1957 there were 8 alien spouses living in Sia. Six were women; 2, men. Seven were Indians; 1, a Mexican. Three came from Jemez; 2 from Cochiti; and 1 each from Acoma, Laguna, Navaho.

It is clear that women are much more likely to marry into Sia than men. The number of marriages with Jemez Indians is rather surprising. It is curious, too, that we have no record of marriage with a Santana at all.

### MARRYING OUTSIDE OF SIA

I have knowledge of but few Sia who have left the pueblo because they had married someone elsewhere and went there to live. One Juan Andres Shije, born 1897, married a Santa Clara woman and went to her home to live. Two women married into Jemez, but marriage may not have been the only factor involved. Refugia Moquino and Adelaida Moquino married Jose Rey Toledo and Simon Toyah, respectively. But Refugia was a sister and Adelaida a daughter of San Juanito Moquino, one of the early leaders of the evangelical heretics; and we believe Toledo was a heretic, also. George Herrera, a leader of the Sia heretics, married a Picuris woman; and Velino, George's brother, married the sister of George's wife. One of George's daughters married into San Juan, and most of the children of Benina Moquino, another heretic, married non-Sias after they left home. A few men, such as Julian Salas, born 1895, have left Sia and may have married after their departure.

No doubt we are more likely to have knowledge of outsiders who have married into Sia than of Sias who have left the pueblo because of marriage. Nevertheless, I believe that Sia has gained more citizens by marriage than she has lost between 1900 and 1957.

### DEATH AND BURIAL

Burial takes place as soon as possible after death, but interment must be completed before noon; if it is seen that this cannot be done, burial is postponed until the morrow. All people are buried in the walled enclosure in front of the Church, which is regarded as holy ground. But its holiness is not derived from the Catholic church or from Christian gods (see our discussion of Christianity, p. 65).

Exceptions to the above rule are: (1) stillborn children (see "Childbirth"); (2) caciques, sacristans, and heads of societies, who are buried in the floor of the church (this information came from one informant only); and (3) the heretics who became "Holy Rollers"—Juan Pedro Herrera and San Juanito Moquino were buried outside the churchyard east of the church, and without the aid of the fiscales or medicinemen.

When a death occurs a member of the deceased's family will notify the sacristan at once. He in turn will notify the fiscale mayor and one or two of the governor's helpers, who will assist the fiscale (the governor's helpers may be notified by the fiscale rather than by the sacristan; my data are indefinite on this point). The fiscale and the capitani (governor's helper) will begin to dig the grave at once unless it is clear that interment cannot be completed before noon. While the grave is being dug a capitani will ring the church bell, slowly and at uniform intervals at first, more rapidly as the grave becomes deeper. In digging a grave anywhere in the yard, previous graves will be disturbed, but this is inevitable because the yard is both small and finite and has been filled long ago. There is no division or segregation within the yard with regard to sex or any other principle.

The body of the deceased is bathed by members of his family, and his hair washed. Then the body is dressed. Members of the societies are dressed in the costume worn in their ceremonies. Nonsociety members are dressed in ordinary clothes. Tiny bits of food of all kinds are deposited with the dead; they are put into a bowl for a man, a basket for a woman, and placed under the left armpit. This is to feed him on his trip back to the underworld. Then the body is wrapped in a blanket and tied securely with a woman's belt, split by cutting it lengthwise, if the deceased is a woman; with buckskin made into a rope if a man. If they do not have buckskin, an ordinary rope is used. If the deceased was a member of a secret society the head man of the society is notified immediately after death occurs. He notifies all the members of the society, and they gather in their ceremonial house to prepare the costume and paints for the deceased. When they are ready they go to the home of the deceased and prepare him for burial: they put on his ceremonial costume, paint him, and wrap him in a blanket.

When the body is ready for burial the sacristan and fiscale are notified. They come to the house where the body lies, bringing a ladder with them. They leave the ladder outdoors and go inside where the family of the deceased are gathered. The sacristan and the fiscale say some prayers. The members of the household pray also. Then the fiscale and his capitani helpers carry the body outside and place it upon the ladder and carry it to the grave. The family of the deceased remain in their house. At the grave the sacristan and the fiscale pray again as the body is lowered into the grave with ropes. Then the grave is filled; a big tamping stick is used to pack the earth firmly. All tools used in digging and filling the grave are taken down to the river and washed.

Right after the body has been taken out for burial, the mother, mother's mother, or eldest sister of the deceased puts a sheep skin on the floor where the deceased had lain and upon this she places an ear of corn, symbolizing "the living breath," a stick that has been used to poke or stir the fire (opaiyakanyi), which symbolizes the dead body, and a heap of beads (itsatyunyi) of different kinds, the symbolism of which could not be ascertained.

A small basket, bowl, or shell of hadawe (pollen) and one of petana (prayer meal) are placed nearby. The little pile of beads is covered with a sheet. Candles are kept burning day and night. When anyone from outside the household comes into the room he takes a pinch of prayer meal with his left hand and a pinch of pollen with his right and sprinkles them on the sheet covering the beads. "The dead are always fed with the left hand."

Four days after death occurs, or four days after the body is interred, a ceremony is held to send the tsa'ts (literally 'breath,' i.e., soul) back to the underworld whence it came. This ceremony must be performed by the Flint, Giant, Fire, Snake, or Kapina society; no other society is qualified. In order to perform this mortuary ceremony a society must be honawai'aiti (like Flint, Giant, or Fire) or at least part-honawai'aiti (like Snake and Kapina). If the deceased were a member of one of the honawai'aiti societies, then it will perform this ceremony. If he were not, then his family will decide which society they wish to have. The entire membership of a society is not needed if it exceeds three men; women members are not qualified to take part in this ceremony. The members of the deceased's family will decide how many tcaiyanyi they want. If the deceased were a member of a medicine society they will ask for three; if he were not they usually ask for only two. The head of the society does not need to officiate if he has someone who can take his place. The society is notified by having a member of the family of the deceased, usually a grandfather, take a handful of prayer meal (petana) to the head of the society who always accepts it and divides it among the members he wishes to have help him.

During the 4 days between the occurrence of death and the soul-dispatching ceremony, the members of the deceased's household will busy themselves preparing food for the mortuary ceremony. They prepare "the kinds of food that the deceased ate while he was here on this earth."

On the morning of the fourth day the medicinemen meet in their ceremonial house to make prayersticks for the dead and to make any other preparations that may be necessary. At about botsidyuye (1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon) they go to the house of the deceased. Each medicineman has his iariko (corn-ear fetish); they have a medicine bowl (waititcanyi) and one or two paiyatyamo (little stone figures). They seat themselves with the sheepskin, corn ear, poker, and meal and pollen in front of them. The nawai talks: "We are here now and are about to send so-and-so's breath away from his house, back to Shipap, etc." Then the medicinemen remove their clothes except for the breechcloth and put on their bear-claw necklaces. They remove the beads, the corn ear, and the poker and put them to one side. Then they make a little meal painting on the floor where these things had been (fig. 25). On this they place their medicine bowl and mix some medicine in it, the water for this purpose being brought by a woman of the household. A road is made from the ha'atsi (meal painting) to the door. It is a road drawn with two lines: one is made of cornmeal and begins where the corn ear had lain; the other is made with ashes and proceeds from the place where the poker had lain—again the symbolism of life and death. These roads go outside the door.

Nawai asks the people if they have food which they wish to offer the soul before it is taken out of the house. They come forward with the food that they have prepared and offer it to the soul. Nawai begins to speak, saying that he "is feeding the tsats, etc." While nawai talks, a medicineman arises, gets pieces of food, and places them on the left side of the meal painting as they face the door, making a little pile of them. Any kind of food is appropriate for this occasion, "even canned food or candy." When the feeding of the soul is finished, the nawai orders all the food to be cleared away; any that remains is taken to the medicinemen's house for their own use. The medicinemen sing three songs before the soul, with the food, is taken out of the

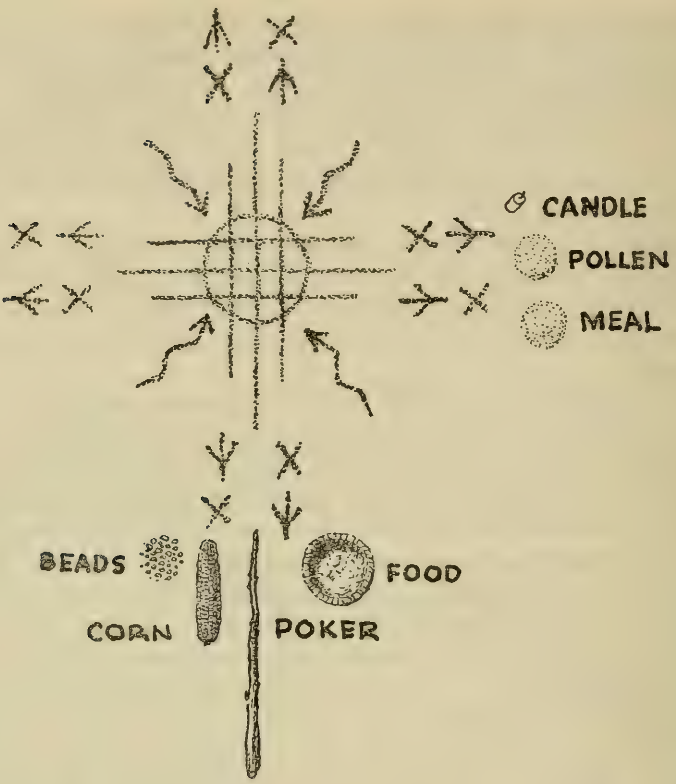

Figure 25.—Meal painting and paraphernalia for mortuary ritual. The X design represents the tracks of the road runner; those with three toes, the turkey.

dwelling. The corn ear and the poker are laid in front of the meal painting. A medicineman sits on the road with his eagle wing feathers on the road in front of him while he talks. When he gets up he picks up his feathers and goes toward the door, sweeping up the road with his plumes as he goes.

The medicinemen take the soul out of the house together with the prayersticks that he will need on his journey. The prayersticks are his credentials which he must show to Utctsiti to certify his right to enter the underworld (see Stevenson, 1894, p. 145; also the account of an Acoma Indian's dream in which prayersticks vie with the Bible as credentials for admittance to the underworld, White, 1932 a, p. 32). The medicinemen exhort the departing soul not to tarry on the road back, not to listen to any unfaithful spirits who sit by the roadside, and not to accept any offerings from them, for if he does he will never reach Shipap but will be doomed to sit by the roadside.

Nawai stays in the house while the medicinemen go out to set the soul on the road toward the north. He tells the deceased's relatives to take the food out and deposit it on the road toward the north. This they do. They also take the deceased's blankets out toward the north and burn them.

While the medicinemen and the relatives are out on their errands, nawai makes a new meal painting on the floor, and places his iariko on it (fig. 25). When the relatives return, nawai tells them to grasp the iariko. As many as can, do this, and those for whom there is not enough room grasp people in front of them who are holding the iariko. All the medicinemen (who have returned by this time) stand, with nawai in the middle. They pick up their bear leg skins and hold one or lay it across a forearm. They sing a few songs. The ceremony is now over. Nawai talks, telling them that the breath of so-and-so has now gone back, etc. The people sprinkle the meal painting and the corn-ear fetish with petana. Nawai continues to talk: "Do not think of so-and-so," he tells them; "he has gone back to his mother and is now happy." The women of the household bring in food and the medicinemen eat first, then the rest of the people. If any food remains, it is returned to the family. The medicinemen gather up their paraphernalia, clear away the meal paintings, and go to their ceremonial house where nawai dismisses them.

If the deceased were a member of the society who performed the ceremony of dispatching the soul, the members of the society meet in their ceremonial house on the fourth day after the soul began his trip to Shipap. The female members of the society are asked to prepare some food, "just enough to feed the maiyanyi (spirits)." If the deceased had an iariko (corn ear), they will remove the wrappings and feathers from the corn ear, and remove the "heart" which is within the cob. They shell the corn from the cob and put the latter back in its wrappings. The iariko is now dead. One or two medicinemen take the dead iariko and one or two paiyatyamo (stone figures) that belonged to the deceased, and carry them out and bury them in the various places toward the north where the prayersticks for him had been deposited. The food is deposited with the paiyatyamo.

"If a person has been good during his lifetime," according to one informant, "Utctsiti will give him another life and return him to this White earth (the reference is to the four colored worlds through which mankind ascended; see "Cosmology") in the form of a swallow, butterfly, henati-hayac (cloud fog), or a bird—except a crow, owl, or blackbird." A dead person could become a katsina, also (see White, 1935, pp. 198–99).

## GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

Sia, like other Keresan pueblos, is a compact, well-integrated community. Correlation, regulation, and control are effected by a number of institutional devices: a hierarchy of officers, a council, the rights and duties of kinship, and custom in general.

We may distinguish two spheres, or levels, of sociopolitical activities: public and private. The former has to do with the pueblo as a community, such as ceremonies of the medicine socities, masked dances, communal hunts, administration of the irrigation system, upkeep of the kivas and the Catholic church; providing the hotcanitsa with corn, meat, and firewood. By private affairs I mean relationships between individuals as members of families, households, clans, and of the community. Quarrels, petty theft, adultery, and the like are instances of private matters. An event which begins as a private matter may become a matter of official pueblo concern, however: if a personal quarrel assumes such a magnitude that it poses a threat to community solidarity, the pueblo—most likely in the office of governor—will step in and put a stop to it. In our discussion of adultery (p. 211) we have an example of this. In another case, the widow and other relatives of a man who had been murdered were brought before the Council and obliged to forgive the murderer, who had just returned to Sia from serving a term in the penitentiary for the offense. The pueblo, like all healthy sociopolitical organizations, cannot tolerate threats to its integrity.

"Public and communal" and "private and personal" are logically distinct and valid categories, but there is a kind of situation in which an event belongs equally to both. When a person decides to request admission to a medicine society, or makes a vow, or pledges himself, to impersonate Santiago, or asks to be adopted, or to have a child adopted by a clan other than the one into which he was born, this is a personal and private matter in one respect: it is his doing and he is not obliged to divulge his reasons for his actions. But, adoption into a clan, joining a society, or impersonating Santiago is a pueblo function as well, and one must obtain permission from the proper official, or officials—in the last analysis, the War chief—in order to have the desired action taken.

Government is a religious function as well as a secular one. The cacique and the War chiefs, especially the former, are priests as well as governmental officials. The governor and fiscale mayor do not really have priestly functions, but virtually everything in the way of custom and social regulation is set within a matrix of supernaturalism: custom is sacred, and it is the duty of everyone, officer and common person alike, to see that it is followed. One gets the impression from informants that the medicinemen are more likely to take it upon themselves to see that custom is followed than are other nonofficers of the pueblo.

The governmental functions of the officers have been set forth in our chapter on officers. I might, however, review them briefly here. The cacique is too sacred to concern himself directly and actively in pueblo affairs; it is the War chiefs who do this. The governor's office has two dimensions: intra- and extra-pueblo. On the one hand it is his duty to maintain "law and order" within the pueblo and to see that certain communal tasks are performed, such as maintaining the irrigation system. On the other, he has charge of the pueblo's relations with the outside world: with the Indian Agency, the Public Health Service, and non-Sias generally, especially Anglo- and Spanish-Americans. Fiscale has charge of matters pertaining to the Catholic religion, although it is said that he can "try some cases like the governor," e.g., adultery.

## THE PUEBLO COUNCIL

The Pueblo Council is one of the most important agencies for the transaction of governmental business in Sia. It is composed of all adult males; women are not admitted (one informant stated that once, in 1935 when the Wheeler-Howard bill was being discussed, women were allowed to attend). One informant observed that in some neighboring pueblos all men were not admitted to the council because they were too numerous to assemble under one roof and that this caused some dissatisfaction among those not included. But in Sia, he said, all adult males are members and this makes for a more democratic conduct of pueblo affairs.

Meetings of the council are summoned by the War chief, the governor, or fiscale mayor. Or, anyone may request one of these three officers to call a council meeting to consider some problem or issue; the officer so requested will use his discretion in such a case. Meetings called by the War chief have to do with "troubles connected with hunting, or with anything pertaining to the Indian religion or ceremonies." The governor would call meetings to consider domestic and secular issues, such as quarreling, theft, trouble with outsiders, i.e., non-Sias. Fiscale mayor may summon meetings much as the governor would. Any of the three officers cited above could call a council meeting to deal with irrigation problems.

There is no special council house in Sia. The council meets in the house of the officer who summons it if the house is large enough to do so, otherwise he borrows someone else's house. The council members are notified of meetings by the helpers of the War chief (gowatcanyi) or of the governor (capitani), depending upon which one called the meeting. These little officers go about the pueblo from house to house with their announcement, but they do not disclose the purpose of the meeting; they merely specify time and place.

Tiamunyi never attends council meetings, and would do so only under the most extraordinary circumstances, e.g., if one of the societies refused to comply with a request of the War chief or had been guilty of some other misconduct, the War chief might call a council meeting to deal with it and ask the Tiamunyi to be present. Tiamunyi would not, however, speak at this meeting unless the War chief asked him to do so. The tcraikatsi (vice caciques) may attend council meetings. but custom requires them to speak very sparingly, if at all, upon such occasions.

The council is, therefore, a sort of clearing house for all sorts of problems and issues arising within the pueblo, whether it be an important communal matter, or a case of adultery. Any council member is free to speak at meetings, but many of the younger men are too timid to do so except in some matters where they have information about the outside world, such as Federal or State legislation, that the old timers are not familiar with. Unanimity was formerly a requisite of all decisions according to all informants, but they differ somewhat as to precisely what the situation is now.

The following is an interesting example of the sort of business the government of the pueblo may have to undertake: If a man, Jose, buys a team of horses, a wagon, or an automobile outside the pueblo, he will, upon bringing his purchase into Sia, present it to the cacique and place it at the disposal of the pueblo for community work. He will ask the War chief to call a meeting for this purpose. The gowatcanyi are dispatched throughout the pueblo announcing that a meeting is to be held at the hotcanitsa (the cacique's official residence) at a specified time. The meeting (of adult males) convenes; the tiamunyi is present. Masewi (War chief) opens the meeting, informing those present who has requested the gathering and for what purpose. He then invites Jose to speak. Jose addresses the meeting, remaining seated, as follows: "Canaiya [our mother] Tiamunyi, tiamunyi tcraikatsi, caotcaniᴅyame [I think this means officers and people] . . . and then he says what he has to say—that he has bought such and such and is bringing it into the pueblo; he is placing it at the disposal of the pueblo for community work. Then the Tiamunyi talks. He addresses Jose as caí-wi [son; this must be a ceremonial term]. He thanks Jose for his offer, which he accepts. Thereafter, if his horse or whatever it may be is needed the governor may call upon him for its use (compare this with the reception of an alien spouse at Acoma (White, 1943 a pp. 321–322) and with the reception accorded Acoma immigrants into Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, pp. 198–199).

The maintenance of law and order in Sia is the duty and responsibility of the pueblo government and officers except in the case of major crimes, such as murder and rape, which come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The distinction between the powers of the pueblo government and State and Federal Governments is clearly brought out in our discussion of the suits of heretics at Sia and Jemez against the pueblo governments (see pp. 78 ff.). State and local officials have no jurisdiction within the pueblo except and unless they are invited, or requested, to assist the pueblo officials. Once, on the evening of August 14, the day before the big fiesta for the patron saint, my car was stopped, along with other vehicles entering the pueblo, by the State police to inquire if I had any liquor in my possession.

Individual Pueblo Indians pay excise taxes to New Mexico such as gasoline and sales taxes, as well as others. They pay Federal income and excise taxes and State income taxes, at least on money earned other than from their pueblo lands. Individual Pueblo Indians who own land outside the pueblo area pay the same taxes on such land as anybody else. They are eligible to vote and to serve for jury duty in the courts and a number of them have served as jurors in the Federal court, although we cannot specifically state what members of this pueblo have served as jurors. They have all the responsibilities of citizens including the duty of serving in the Armed Forces in accordance with law. The pueblo officials indicated that they are against taxation of their lands.

"Prior to 1948 Indians were not eligible to vote in New Mexico because of a New Mexico constitutional restriction, but in that year the Federal court . . . held that the Indians were lawfully entitled to vote. An increasing number of them are exercising the franchise and more will gradually do so" (U.S.H.R., 1954, p. 457).

## INFLUENCE OF INDIVIDUALS

As we have seen, the cacique, War chief, and governor, and medicinemen—especially the heads of societies—embody authority and exert very considerable influence in the community by virtue of their office and membership. To what extent can individuals exert influence as mere individuals—as hano sicti—quite apart from office or society membership? This is a question that I investigated at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, pp. 190–191) where I found that the most influential man was "not a medicineman or even a member of any of the secret societies or kachina dance groups." I made a similar inquiry at Sia and found the situation to be much the same. The officers of the pueblo are undoubtedly important. They are vested with great authority and through them the will of the community is imposed on individuals. But a distinction is made, implicitly, between the man and the office. The cacique and the medicinemen may be persons of little ability and force of character. And the community is so small that almost all mature men will have held a fairly important office by the time they are 50 or 60. But, apart from office and society membership, there is room for very considerable influence by individuals as persons.

In 1941, according to one of my best informants, A. P. was unquestionably the most influential man in Sia. He was said to be wise, intelligent, the best informed in "Indian lore," far-sighted, and a man of great strength of character. At that time he was about 56 years old. He spoke little English, but was fluent in Spanish, and "spoke very fine Keres." His discussion of issues in council meetings very often precipitated and determined its decisions. But A. P. was a member of the Snake society and the head of the sicti and the singers, and he had served as Masewi and as governor. As we have noted elsewhere (p. 182), he should not have been head of the sicti since he was a medicineman, but because of his ability and influence an exception was made in his case. In my informant's judgment, A. P. exerted great influence because of his personal qualities.

In 1941, A. T. was said to be the next most influential man in Sia. He was well informed upon matters of Sia culture and "was a good talker." He, too, was a medicineman, the head of the Fire society. But here, also, my informant maintained that his influence derived from his personal qualities rather than from his society headship. The head of the Flint society, by virtue of his office, is tremendously important, as my informant reminded me. He must be consulted on certain occasions, and his permission is necessary for the performance of certain pueblo functions. But as a person he may be a man of mediocre, or even inferior, ability, and, as a person, exert little or no influence in community affairs. In 1952 the informant who, in 1941, gave me the above information observed that A. T. had lost much of his earlier influence "because of his impatience and his hot temper."

## PROGRESSIVES AND CONSERVATIVES

I did not press my investigations deeply into the subject of progressives and conservatives. The situation at Sia appeared definitely to be much the same as at Santa Ana, which I have discussed elsewhere in some detail (White, 1942 a, pp. 188–189). Some men and women are definitely opposed to the use of tractors, the introduction of electricity, and other acceptances of American culture. Others were identified as being much in favor of things of this sort. However, these differences in attitudes never crystallized into "progressive" and "conservative" *parties*, and they never erupted into a pueblo dispute or fight. The community seemed to be well integrated and to be able to contain and to harmonize these two opposing tendencies. And so it has gone on, opposing change on the one hand, but giving in to it on the other. In this game, the conservatives always lose.

## "RICH" AND "POOR"

"All Sias are poor, but some are poorer than others." Some families, even as recently as the 1950's, lived in abject poverty: they had little or no livestock, a small amount of land, meager household furnishings, and no "luxuries." At the other end of the scale, some families had many cattle or sheep, considerable cultivated land, good furniture, and perhaps a gas range, a television set, or a pickup truck.[31] (See data on tenure of land and livestock by families in our chapter, "Land, Agriculture, and Stockraising.") These differences in material well-being are obvious and readily recognized by the Sias themselves. But, so far as my observations and inquiries could determine, no family is looked down upon because it is poor, or looked up to because it is relatively well to do. Nor does influence within the community depend upon economic status. The nature of the kinship system and the principle of mutual aid upon which tribal life is organized militates against distinctions based upon wealth.

There appear to be some definite correlations, however, between economic status and political attitude: the conservatives tend to be poor, while the relatively well to do are inclined to be progressive. And, outside employment, which brings money and welfare into the household and the community, facilitates acculturation. Here again, the tides are against the die-hard conservatives.

The reader is urged to consult the chapter on "Government and Social Life" in my monograph, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana." There I have discussed such topics as "Democracy or Oligarchy?" the place of pueblo culture in the scale of social evolution, "Social Life," "The Status of Woman," and "Law and Order." Apart from some local differences, which will be made apparent by a comparison of the two studies, what has been said for Santa Ana will apply equally well to Sia, and will add materially to the study of Sia here presented.

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[31] But, say Hawley et al. (1943, p. 548), "there is little difference between the menus of the poorest and the richest families."

## CEREMONIALISM

Pueblo life consists of effecting adjustment to and exercising control over the external world, on the one hand, and in adjusting and regulating the relations between person and person, on the other. These things are done in two ways: matter of fact, naturalistic, and supernaturalistic and symbolic (ritualistic). Matter-of-fact means are employed in hunting, farming, and in exploiting wild plant and mineral resources. Naturalistic means are employed also in social organization and control through custom, education, exhortation, criticism, ridicule, and the like. But supernaturalistic means—ceremonies, rituals, songs, prayers, and paraphernalia—are used with reference both to the external world and to the realm of social relations. The Pueblo Indians, like many other peoples, both primitive and civilized, live in a dualistic world. And pueblo life consists in following through a yearly round of matter-of-fact and ceremonial activities. We present herewith a calendar of events (cf. White, 1942 a, pp. 92–94, for Santa Ana; 1935, pp. 33–34, for Santo Domingo; 1932 b, pp. 50–52, for San Felipe; Dumarest, 1919, pp. 203–206, for Cochiti).

### CALENDAR

It is difficult to determine when, in pueblo conception, one year ends and a new one begins, but the dividing line would come close to the celebration of hanyiko about mid-November and the selection of officers on the evening of December 28.

*December 29.* The new officers receive their "canes", i.e., staffs of office.

*January 1, Manuel's day.* Sometimes they have a dance—a "corn dance" (such as is held on August 15, but without the áctitco'mɩ, or "pole") or a Comanche dance. The mothers, wives, and sisters of all males named Manuel invite the people of the village to their houses (or to Manuel's house?) to eat.

*January 6, King's day.* The wives and mothers of all the new officers, and of anyone named Rey or Reyes, invite people to their houses to eat. They may have a dance such as White people are permitted to see in the plaza in the daytime or a masked dance in a kiva, either one, that night.

*February 1 to 10.* Tiamunyi and the War chief prepare for the communal curing ceremony; this will take place between February 10 and 20. The War chief calls for a rabbit hunt to provide meat for the occasion.

*February, the last week.* If the winter is a mild one they begin to clean the irrigation ditches and prepare them for use. When the work is finished they have the Owɛ dance. Then the water is turned into the ditches.

*March.* Wheat is planted.

*April.* Corn is planted about the middle of the month.

*Holy Week and Easter* are celebrated according to the Catholic calendar.

*June.* Early in this month the War chief orders a communal rabbit hunt to provide meat for Kacaiᴅimɛ.

*June–July.* Approximately between June 10 and the last of July the ceremony of Kacaiᴅimɛ is held.

*June 24, San Juan's day.* Rooster pull (gallo).

*June 29, San Pedro's day.* Gallo.

*July 25, Santiago's day.* They may have the equestrian impersonation of Santiago and Bocaiyanyi; also, gallo.

*August 15, Feast for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.*

*August–September.* Communal rabbit hunts under the direction of the War chief's helpers (gowatcanyi).

*August–September.* Late in August or early in September, Tiamunyi directs the people to harvest melons and chili so that it will be done before a killing frost.

*September.* Early in the month, soon after early frosts, Tiamunyi calls for a corn harvest ceremony called O·wamo·ts, after which the corn will be harvested. Sometime after the harvest another ceremony, called Ayayutsiɢyits, is held; this is for the corn that has remained on the ground after the harvest.

*November 1, All Souls' Day.* The Feast for the Dead who return to Sia at this time.

*November 2, All Saints' Day.* The Catholic priest comes and celebrates Mass.

*November 10 to 20, Hanyiko.*

*December 24–25.* Church service conducted by the sacristan (the Catholic priest does not come), at midnight, "when Christ was born," followed by a dance in the church. This is followed by 4 days of dancing.

*December 26–28.* The cacique and tcraikatsi meet each evening in the hotcanitsa to select pueblo officers for the coming year; final decision is made on the 28th, and the new officers receive their staffs of office on the following day.

## CEREMONIES FOR THE SUN: H'Ā́·NYIKO AND H'ÂNYIKÍKYA

These ceremonies have frequently been called *solstice* ceremonies, hanyiko being the winter, hanyikikya the summer, solstice (Parsons, 1918, pp. 183–184; Goldfrank, 1927, p. 59; White, 1932 a, pp. 84–85; 1932 b, pp. 52–53; 1935, pp. 132, 139; 1942 a, p. 205). Although I have done this myself, I am inclined to believe that this is an error. It now seems to me that both ceremonies are concerned with the turning point of the sun in wintertime: as autumn progresses and winter approaches, the sun rises farther and farther to the south on the eastern horizon until it reaches its limit on December 21 after which it returns toward the north. The actual dates for hanyiko and hanyikikya given by informants do not correspond at all with the times of the solstices. At Cochiti, Dumarest (1919, p. 204) noted that the Indians sing and dance for the sun in November; Lange (1959, pp. 262, 321), also, places hanyiko in November at Cochiti. At San Felipe, hanyiko is held in November or December (White, 1932 b, pp. 52–53). Hanyiko is celebrated at Santa Ana about November 12 or 13, "shortly after the Jemez fiesta [November 12]" (White, 1942 a, p. 205). And at Sia, our informants placed it about the middle of November.

The hanyikikya ceremony is held in February at Cochiti (Lange, 1959, p. 262); in February at Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 139); in January or February at San Felipe, according to one informant (White, 1932 b, pp. 52–53); and at Sia, according to my informants, in March or April.

It is true that some studies give the dates of these ceremonies as approximately June 21 and December 21, or call them "solstice ceremonies" even though they place them in November and February (Lange, 1959, pp. 321, 611). This may be due, I believe, to the fact that some ethnographers believe that they are dealing with solstices; they may think that the Indians do not know the dates of the solstices so they have "corrected" the dates given by the informants. I believe I did this in the case of Acoma (White, 1932 a, pp. 84–85). The Indians may not know the calendar dates of the solstices, but they do know when hanyiko and hanikikya occur. It seems clear that hanyiko takes place shortly before the sun reaches its southernmost point of rising, and hanyikikya shortly after it has begun its course northward. Therefore it would seem to be more correct to call hanyiko and hanyikikya *solar* ceremonies rather than *solstice* ceremonies.

*Hanyiko* (*or sahanyiko*).—The cacique determines when the ceremony shall be held by watching the risings of the sun. But he is influenced by another consideration, too, namely, the situation with regard to the harvest: the harvesting should be virtually finished before hanyiko is celebrated. As a rule, the ceremony takes place "shortly after the Jemez fiesta [November 12]," i.e., about the middle of November.

It is the War chief's duty to see that the cacique has enough deer meat for the occasion. When cacique has decided upon the date he calls a meeting in the hotcanitsa of the heads of the societies who will take part, namely, Flint, Koshairi, Kwiraina, Giant, Fire, and Snake societies, sometimes the Caiyeik society participates, sometimes not. Sometimes the Flint society postpones its ceremony until the evening of December 24 (for reasons which were not ascertained). When the heads of the societies have gathered in the hotcanitsa essentially the same procedure is followed as in kacaidime: the deer meat is distributed among them and they are notified that the time for hanyiko has come and they are requested to perform their ceremonies.

The head of each society calls a meeting of his members in their ceremonial house on the evening following the meeting in the hotcanitsa. He distributes the deer meat to them and tells them that cacique has requested them to perform their ceremony for hanyiko. The next morning the members of each society take an emetic and vomit; they do this each morning for 4 consecutive days. On the first of this 4-day period the members may fast if they wish to, but it is not compulsory. If one elects to fast he must not eat or drink anything whatever until noon of the following day. The meal at noon on the second day, which will be brought to the ceremonial house by women, consists of mush only, cooked without salt or grease. The medicinemen are not required to spend the 4 days and nights in their ceremonial houses as at kacaidime, but are free to go about as they please, except when their ceremonial labors require them to be in their houses. They must, however, observe sexual continence during this period. On each evening of the 4 days the medicinemen gather in their ceremonial houses. They sing and say Catholic prayers in Spanish, such as "Hail Mary. . . ." This is because Naotsityi, the mother of white people, is meeting at this time with Utctsityi, mother of Indians, at Mawakana Gactyats-kai (see "Cosmology"). On the second and third nights the societies visit each other's houses to dance; some of these dances may be for amusement and may be humorous in character.

On the morning of the fourth day each society sets up its slat altar, makes a sand painting, and lays out its paraphernalia. During the day they make prayersticks and a wicpi (see "Paraphernalia"). On the evening and night of the fourth day each society holds a public ceremony which may be attended by anyone (Sia Indian, that is), and almost everyone does attend. Cacique goes to the society house of his choice. The Fire and Kapina societies visit each other's house and give exhibitions of stick swallowing. The ceremonies last all night. During the evening the people of the pueblo bring things—"anything they want to"—to the houses as offerings to the spirits; they are eventually wrapped in a cotton blanket.[32] Early in the morning, about dawn, the medicinemen take these offerings, the prayersticks, and the wicpi outside the pueblo and bury them just as the sun appears above the horizon. This concludes the ceremony of hanyiko.

The purpose of hanyiko is to address prayers to all the spirits created by Tsityostinako, such as Masewi, Oyoyewi, the warriors, birds, animals, and other spirits of the cardinal points (see "Cosmology") who are gathered at this time in Mawakana GacDyats-kai, at the southeast corner of the world (see fig. 12). The prayers are for rain, crops, and game. They also ask the spirits to help the Sia appoint their officers without trouble or quarreling.

*Hanyikikya.*—This ceremony is held in March or perhaps as late as April, the exact date being determined by the cacique, who watches the risings of the sun for this purpose. The proper time, apparently, is when the sun has got a good start on his way back toward the north along the eastern horizon.

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[32] This appears to be equivalent to the "sun" that is made at Santo Domingo at hanyiko (White, 1935, pp. 133–135).

The cacique does not summon the heads of societies to a meeting at hotcanitsa as in hanyiko; each society takes its own initiative in this matter. There is very little ceremony. Members of each society vomit each morning for 4 days. On the fourth day they make prayersticks. On the evening of the fourth day they meet in their house and sing. When they have finished they take their prayersticks out and bury them.

## KACA͡ÍDIMɛ: SUMMER RETREATS FOR RAIN

Societies go into retreats for rain during the summer in the Keresan pueblos (White, 1942 a, pp. 207 ff.; White, 1935, pp. 88 ff.). A "retreat" involves seclusion in the society's ceremonial house, fasting, and the performance of a ceremony. At Sia, these retreats are called kaca͡íᴅimɛ (kaca͡íᴅi, 'summer'). Stevenson has detailed descriptions of these "rain ceremonials," which she witnessed, for the Snake, Giant, Flint (Knife), and Kwiraina (Querranna) societies in "The Sia"; they are unique for the Keres.

The Flint, Koshairi, Kwiraina, Giant, Fire, and Kapina societies each has a retreat during the summer. They may all go in at one time; or they may go in two at a time; or they may go in singly. The Tiamunyi decides which procedure is to be followed. The retreats occur between about June 10 and the last of July. One informant said that the time was set by cacique who observed the rising of the sun for this purpose; another said that Tiamunyi did not watch the sun: "they go pretty much by the white man's calendar now."

About June 1 the War chief orders a community hunt in order to provide Tiamunyi with an adequate supply of meat for kacaidime. They hunt for cottontails and jackrabbits and for wood rats (ck'awac, *Neotoma*). The animals are dried and then tied together to form strings; 4 or 5 jackrabbits, 8 cottontails, 25 to 30 rats will form one string. The meat is delivered to cacique at the hotcanitsa (the cacique's official residence).

The cacique asks the War chief to call a meeting of all pueblo officers, the governor, fiscales, and everyone, to meet in the evening at the hotcanitsa to decide when to begin the ceremony of kacaidime. A date for a future meeting is set at this meeting.

This second meeting is attended by all pueblo officers as before. But this time the War chief sends a gaotcanyi to the home of the head of each of the six societies mentioned above and requests them to attend the meeting at the hotcanitsa. Each nawai (head) is escorted to the hotcanitsa by a gaotcanyi. When a society head enters he shakes hands first with Tiamunyi, then the tcraikatsi, Masewi, Oyoyewi, and the other officers, then takes his seat. The seating arrangement on this occasion is indicated in figure 26.

The War chief opens the meeting. Then cacique talks. He asks the heads of societies for their permission to go before them with a request. The head nawai (it would be the head of the Flint society one year, the head of Koshairi the next), speaking for all, grants him permission. Tiamunyi then asks one of the tcraikatsi to distribute the strings of meat to the heads of societies. Tcraikatsi places one string of meat before each nawai except the head one; instead of giving him one, he gives it to tiamunyi. Tiamunyi takes the string, goes to the head nawai, sits down before him, and then, as both tiamunyi and the head nawai grasp the string of rabbits or rats, the tiamunyi makes a little speech. He tells nawai about how they are going to have kacaidime, and so on. At the conclusion of his talk he gives the nawai ianyi ("blessing"). Then the head nawai talks: "about how they are going to have kacaidime." Then each nawai down the line talks, holding his string of meat before him.

When all of the society heads have spoken, tiamunyi gets up and resumes his place among the tcraikatsi and other officers. The War chief then talks, giving the nawai ianyi and encouragement. The governor then addresses the nawai. Sometimes the fiscales talk. The leader of the society heads now addresses the officers, "giving tiamunyi, the tcraikatsi and all the other officers encouragement and ianyi." Each nawai in turn makes a similar speech. The meeting lasts from about 7:30 or 8 p.m. to 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning. At last, when everyone has spoken, the Tiamunyi dismisses the nawai.

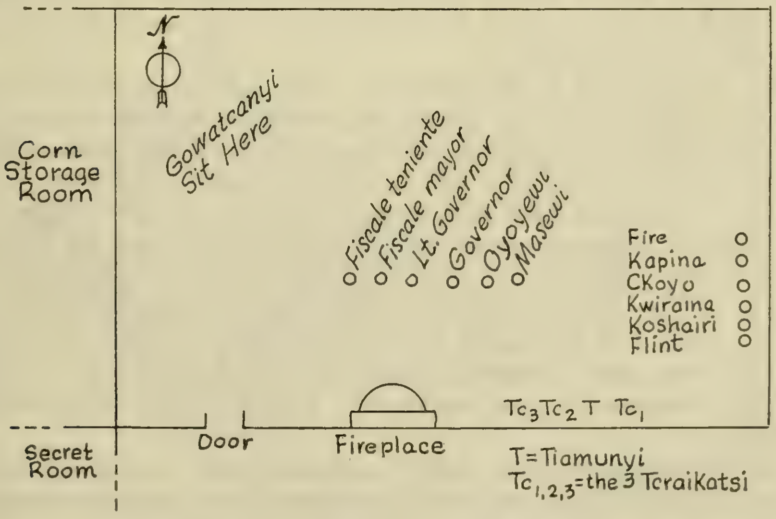

N
Corn Storage Room
Gowatcanyi Sit Here
Fiscale teniente
Fiscale mayor
Lt. Governor
Governor
Oyoyewi
Masewi
Fire
Kapina
CKoyo
Kwiraina
Koshairi
Flint
Tc3 Tc2 T Tc1
Secret Room
Door
Fireplace
T=Tiamunyi
Tc1,2,3=the 3 TcraiKatsi

Figure 26.—Meeting in hotcanitsa: Kacaidime.

As they leave they shake hands with tiamunyi and the other officers, saying "Drúwawicátse (goodbye)," and return to their homes. Whether they are escorted by gowatcanyi or not my notes do not say. The officers remain in the hotcanitsa for a time after the nawai leave. Then tiamunyi dismisses everyone. The War chief talks and then dismisses everyone. The meeting is now over and everyone goes home.

On the evening of the following day each of the six societies holds a meeting in its own ceremonial house. Each group is addressed by its nawai, who tells them of tiamunyi's request to perform the ceremony of kacaidime. Only nawai talks. When he has finished he dismisses the meeting and everyone goes home.

It was decided at the meeting between tiamunyi and other officers and the society heads what procedure is to be followed, i.e., whether the societies will go into retreat simultaneously or not. If there are to be two retreats, one will take place before the feast for the saint on August 15 and one afterward. If they go in one at a time they will follow this order: Flint, Koshairi, Kwiraina, Giant, Kapina, and Fire (Flint and Koshairi will alternate in first place yearly). If two societies go in at a time, each will go to its own ceremonial house, but Flint and Koshairi share a house, as do Kwiraina and Giant; Kapina and Fire, however, will each have its own house.

The retreat lasts 8 days, divided into two equal parts. During the first 4-day period the medicinemen take an emetic and vomit each morning. They must abstain from sexual intercourse during this time, but they may eat anything they wish. On the first 2 days of the first 4-day period the medicinemen may do their own private work; on the next 2 days, however, they must prepare for the ceremony to follow.

On the morning of the third day, one, two, or three members, selected by the nawai, go out to the mountains to collect materials to decorate their ceremonial chamber. They get two small spruce, pine, or piñon trees; these will be placed on either side of the slat altar. They bring back a quantity of spruce or pine boughs for decorations, willow branches for prayersticks, some oak for a kickstick if they are to have a race, and four waterworn pebbles which will be placed one on each of four sides of the waititcanyi (medicine-bowl) which will be placed on the sand painting. The tcaiyanyi return from their collecting expedition after dark and go directly to their ceremonial house, where they will sing a few songs before retiring.

The next morning they begin to decorate their ceremonial room. They erect their slat altar (atcin), lay down their ha′atse (sand painting), and put out their paraphernalia (fig. 27). They tie a deerskin, a whole one, to the ceiling above the sand painting, tying it by each of its legs and by the eye holes. The head of the skin will point toward the door. On the deerskin, near each leg, a bough of spruce or pine is thrust. Two sashes—one white, such as is worn by male dancers in the "corn dance," and an embroidered one—are hung from the deer's neck. Spruce or pine boughs are thrust between the beams and the ceiling all the way from the deerskin to the door. Fine white embroidered mantas are hung on the wall back of the altar. Prayersticks are made and deposited during the night.

The next morning nawai excuses anyone who cannot, or does not wish to, go through a 4-day fast. Those who have been dismissed may go to their homes; the others will retire to the ceremonial house for the second 4-day period, where they will remain night and day except upon occasions which will be noted later.

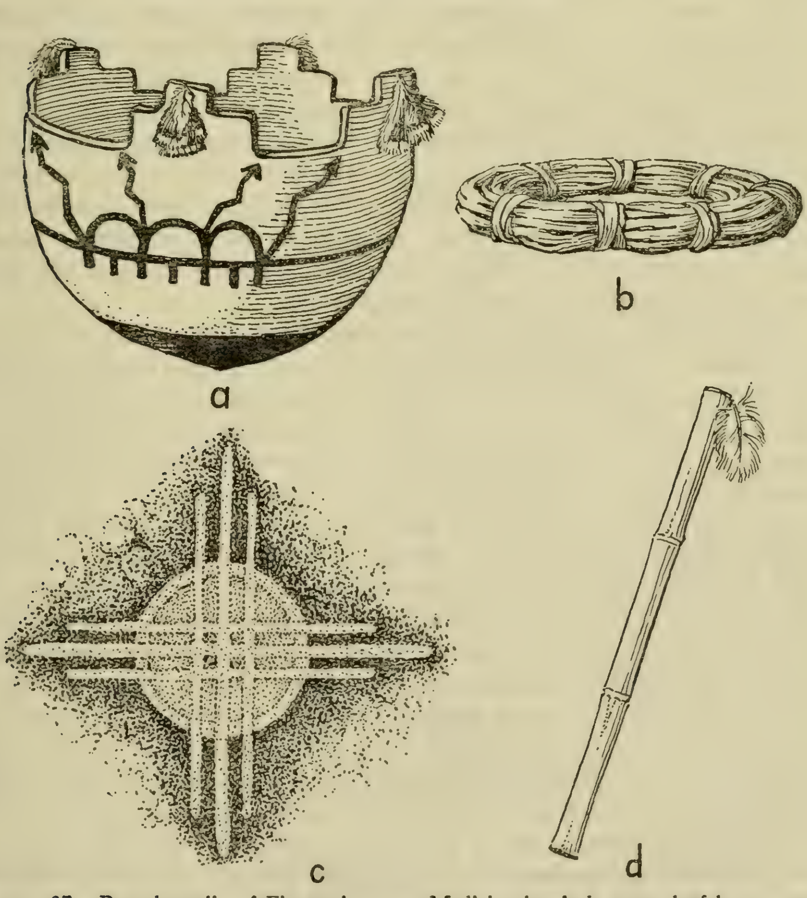


Figure 27.—Paraphernalia of Fire society. *a*, Medicine bowl; *b*, yucca leaf hoop upon which bowl is placed; *c*, meal painting upon which medicine bowl is placed; *d*, tube through which one blows the water in the bowl to form bubbly suds ("clouds").

On the first day the fast is complete: they eat nothing, drink nothing. On the second and third days they eat only one small meal—a little mush or beans, cooked without salt or grease—at midday. On the fourth day, after they have performed their ceremony, they break their fast. The women of the pueblo bring food to the ceremonial house and the medicinemen can eat whatever they wish and as much as they want. They smoke a great deal during this 4-day period.

On the first day of the second 4-day period, the society performs its ceremony twice: once in the forenoon and again at night. The program is the same for the second day—except that they have a light repast at noon after their ceremony. Very early on the morning of the third day a medicine man from each society, accompanied by a gaotcanyi, goes to a spring to get a cpona (pottery canteen) of water. They run all the way, going and returning. Upon their return they pour the water into the two medicine bowls in the ceremonial chamber: one is on the sand painting itself, the other is in front of it, on the "road" of meal that leads to the door.

On the morning of the fourth day each society performs its ceremony in the forenoon as usual; they are joined by those members who did not take part in the 4-day fast. After their full meal at noontime the tcaiyanyi who fasted walk through the fields bestowing ianyi upon the growing crops. They bring back for those who did not fast any fruit or vegetables that are ready to eat.

Each society is attended by a gaotcanyi during the entire 8 days of the retreat. Masewi himself serves as "guard" for the leading society (Flint or Koshairi); Oyoyewi attends the society next in rank (which will be either Flint or Koshairi, since they alternate yearly as leading society). The tsatya-gowatcanyi (i.e., Masewi's helpers) attend the other four societies. The gowatcanyi have no work to do on the first 2 days—it will be remembered that the medicinemen are free to do as they please on these days. On the third day the gaotcanyi, armed with bow and arrow, goes to the mountains with the medicineman who is to fetch the spruce and other materials required. During the second 4-day period, the gaotcanyi guards the society's ceremonial house night and day. He sits on the roof of the house during the day, leaving his bow and arrow against the door. At night he takes his bow and arrow and sits outside the ceremonial chamber in the hall. He sleeps in the ceremonial chamber with the tcaiyanyi. He may fast with them or not as he pleases. If he does eat, however, he eats in the little vestibule, not in the ceremonial chamber. "If the gaotcanyi knows his business he will get a bowl from the ceremonial chamber when it rains, catch some water, and take it to the tcaiyanyi to drink."

*Koshairi ritual.*—The cacique may ask the Koshairi to perform a ritual on the ninth day, immediately after the retreat. This will consist either of (1) going around a definite circuit, or circuits, stopping at various sacred spots (tsapacroma); or (2) making this circuit and having a race afterward.

My notes for this ritual and race were hurried and incomplete. Figure 28 shows the four circuits, I, II, III, and IV to the four "corners" [of the world] about Sia; the circuits would be made in the numerical order indicated. The little circles on circuits indicate sacred spots; the names of only some were obtained, and the number and location of those on circuits II and III were not ascertained. Some, if not all, sacred spots are marked by stones; the one at Gyawi kot bears the so-called Zia sun symbol (see fig. 13), now used by the New Mexico Highway Department; ko·t, "mountain," is merely a part of the name of some of the spots. My notes do not make clear whether the Koshairi make all four circuits or only one, or more than one.

If the Koshairi race, they start at either Koasaiya or Djacka (Road Runner) Mountain, alternating yearly. They do not wear the costume

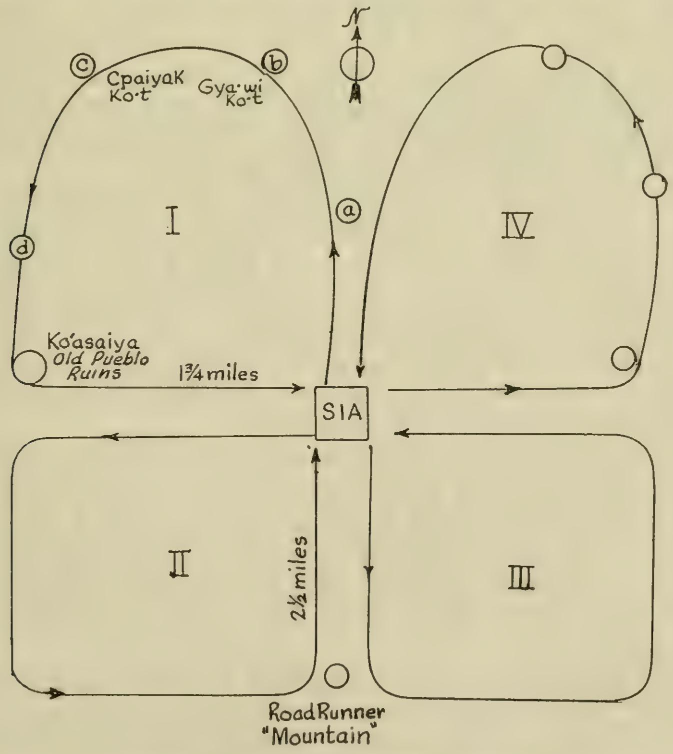


Figure 28.—Koshairi ritual race: Kacaiᴅimɛ.

and body paint customary for the saint's day dance (August 15), but their faces are painted and they have a piece of cornhusk (their "badge") tied to their hair. Fifty yards in front of the Koshairi at the starting point is a man who holds the prize for the winner. The first one to reach him takes it and runs; if someone overtakes him he takes it and runs with it; the one who carries the trophy into the pueblo keeps it.

## KATSINA: MASKED IMPERSONATIONS

The k'âtsinα (katsina) complex—word, concept, and masked impersonation—is found among all the pueblos of the Southwest: Hopi, Zuñi, Keres, Tewa, and Jemez. It is unquestionably aboriginal (White, 1934). Masked impersonations were seen by early Spanish explorers. Catholic missionaries tried to extirpate masked ceremonies in the 17th century.

The origin of the word is not known. Among the Hopi the pronunciation is katcína, which, spelled kachína, has become the customary pronunciation in English usage today. The Keres, however, pronounce the word k'âtsinα (Stevenson renders it 'katsuna').

Katsina are supernatural beings. They are like men and women in shape except for their heads which are usually of a grotesque shape and design. Some of them have animal characteristics, such as those of a deer, antelope, or bear. Some of the katsina, at least, were created by Utctsityi or Tsityostinako in the underworld and came up with mankind to this world. The mythical home of the katsina is Wenima, located in the West (see fig. 12).

In the mythical past, when the people were still living at White House, the katsina used to come to the pueblo in person to dance, but because of some incident (an account of which I did not obtain from Sia informants; see, however, the Acoma myth in White, 1932 a, pp. 143–44), they no longer come in person. The people were told, however, that they might impersonate the katsina by wearing masks and that the katsina would then come in spirit. This is how the masked dances and ceremonies originated.

The katsina complex finds its expression and fulfillment in masked impersonations in dances and rituals. The principal function of the katsina is to bring rain and to promote the growth of crops. But they also help to cure sickness and to make people strong, help childless wives to become pregnant, and in some instances they have punitive functions, punishing people for violating or deviating from ancient customs.

In 1887 James Stevenson was admitted to a secret chamber in Sia which was "literally filled with masks . . . which he was permitted to examine at leisure, a most unusual privilege, as these people have a superstitious dread of their masks being seen when off the person" (Powell, 1892, p. xxviii). He was unable to acquire any of them, apparently, since no mention is made of it, but "sketches were made of many of them." Mrs. Stevenson (1894) discusses the katsina complex briefly and provides colored plates of some of the masks, describes the initiation of children into the secrets of the katsina, but does not specify whether she witnessed the ceremony or obtained an account of it from an informant. She says that masked dances were held, but does not describe any of them.

The katsina organization consists of (1) certain societies which own, or have custody of, certain masks and which put on the dances in which their own masks are worn, and (2) persons who have been initiated into the secrets of the katsina and are qualified thereby to impersonate them in dances. Masks are owned by, or are in the custody of, the following societies: Katsina-Gomaiyawic, Kwiraina, Fire, Giant, Snake, Kapina, and Sicti. Flint-Shima, Koshairi, and Caiyeik societies do not have any masks. The reason why some societies have masks while others do not was not ascertainable from my informants. It is interesting to note that the sicti, which is a secular group, composed of ordinary people (see p. 182), owns masks; they are, however, in the custody, for safekeeping, of the Katsina-Gomaiyawic group.

The general pattern for masked dances is as follows: There will be a considerable number of dancers wearing the same kind of mask such as Acuwa, for example. They dance together, with the same step and uniformly, in a single line, alternating between side by side positions and "Indian file." I have called these "line dancers." Then there are katsina who appear singly or in twos, possibly three or four, who dance about as they please around the line dancers. I have called these "side dancers"; the Sias call them crúyanáme. Finally, there are female katsina: kotcininako (yellow women) or merinako (blue-green women); they are the women of the North and West, respectively (see p. 111). They usually come in numbers of four to six. Sometimes the kotcininako accompany the songs of the line dancers by kneeling in a row, facing the male katsina, and rubbing a deer leg bone along a notched stick, one end of which rests upon a gourd, which serves as a resonance chamber, the other held in the left hand. The merinako always carry a small basket in the right hand; a sprig of spruce in the left. Female katsina are impersonated by women; women wear no other kind of mask.

There are two classes of masks: those which cover the head completely, and those which cover the face only. In the case of the latter, the hair of the dancer hangs down the sides of the head so as to conceal the edges of the mask. And this type of mask always has a beard—sometimes of black horsehair, sometimes of fine yucca fiber—which conceals the bottom of the mask; a few feathers—usually of the turkey—are worn on the beard. The masks which cover the head entirely always have a collar which conceals the juncture of mask with neck and shoulders; the collar may be of spruce twigs, fur, feathers, or, as in the case of Gomaiyawic, a woven textile. The eyes are frequently triangular, and when of this shape, they are always black. The ears are usually red. Some masks represent, or are named for, animals or fowls (duck); some have as names the cry that they utter; others have names for which there is no English equivalent.

The costume of the male katsina dancers is uniform, as far as I know, apart from the mask. The torso is nude, but it and the arms may or may not be painted. An embroidered cotton dance kilt is worn, tied with a woven belt; a foxskin hangs down from the middle of the back. A bandoleer of shells, sections of an ear of corn, or yarn is worn over the right shoulder to the left side. Blue-green leather armbands, into which sprigs of spruce are tucked, are worn around the biceps. Hanks of yarn are worn around the legs just below the knees. Moccasins, the heels of which are trimmed with black and white skunk fur, complete the costume. The dancer may carry a gourd rattle, or a prayer-stick, in the right hand; a sprig of spruce in the left (see White, 1942 a, pp. 224, 235, and Dumarest, 1919, frontispiece, for sketches of katsina dancers at Santa Ana and Cochiti, respectively). I shall now list, by the societies which own them, the katsina masks found in Sia, and indicate whether they are line or side dancers.

### KATSINA-GOMAIYAWIC

A·cuwa. (Fig. 29.) There are two kinds: mékatc (big) and cróyati (boys). Each is a line dancer; 12 to 14 come at a time. Big Acuwa has a beard of hʻa·dyɩnyɩ (fibers of the leaf of *Yucca baccata*, or soapweed) dyed red, upon which three pairs of medium length turkey tail feathers are tied. Croyati Acuwa has a beard of black horsehair and eagle feathers; on the crown of his head is a bunch of parrot body feathers; on the right side of his head is a parrot tail feather; on the left, an eagle tail feather and a tail feather of the road runner; his face is blue; a sunflower is painted on his forehead. Croyati Acuwa carries a device made of a leather strap to one end of which two feathers from underneath an eagle's wing have been tied; a wa·ʙʋnyi (piece of seashell, *Halioti cracherodii*), at the other end; along the strap eagle neck feathers are fastened.

Kotcininako. (Fig. 29.) Twelve or 14 may come with either kind of Acuwa.

Gaiyactactaiya ("cold feet"). (Fig. 29.) Line dancer; there are 9 masks; always accompanied by 3 kotcininako. A bunch of parrot body

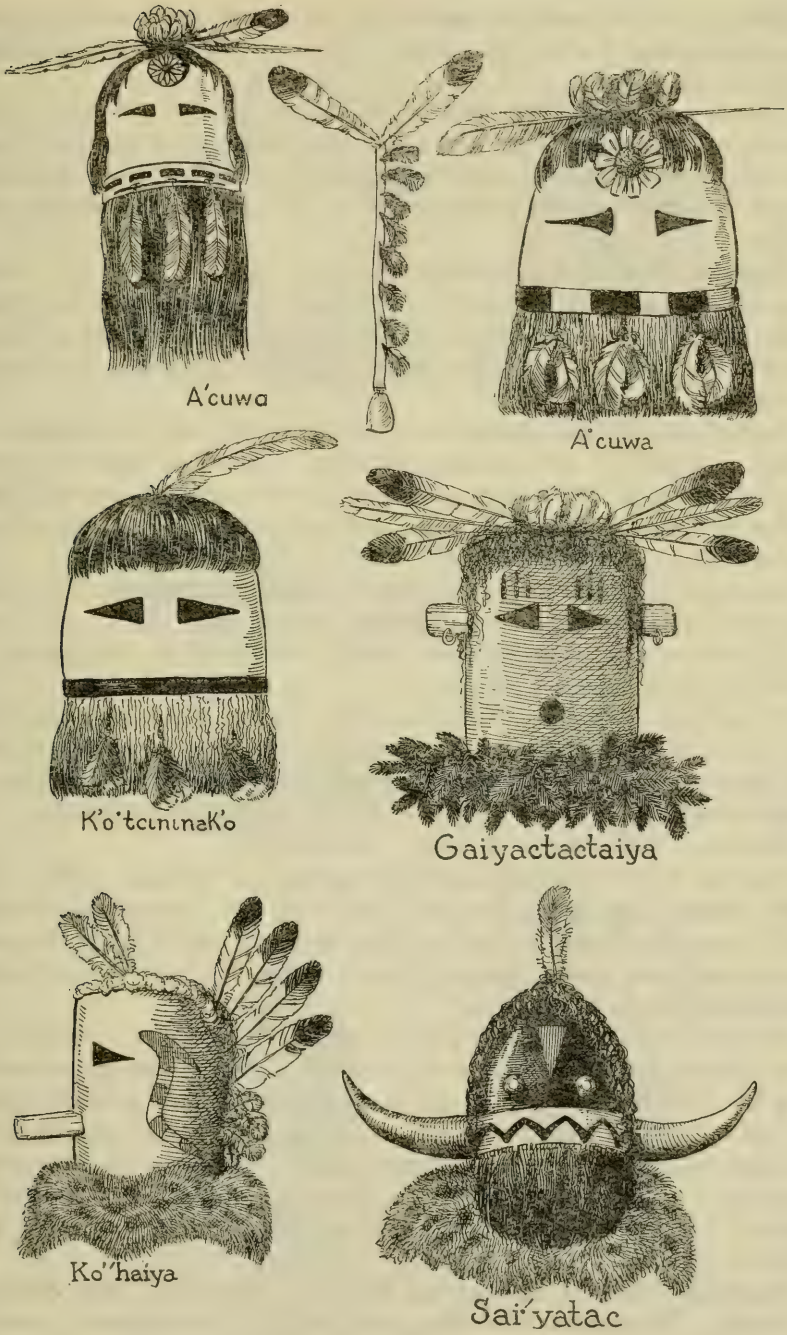

A′cuwa
A′cuwa
K′o′tcininaK′o
Gaiyactactaiya
Ko′′haiya
Sai′yatac

FIGURE 29.—Katsina masks.

feathers on top of head; the others are eagle and parrot tail feathers; face blue-green; 3 white lines above each eye; red wool on forehead; ears red; fir collar.

Kohaiya (bear). (Fig. 29.) Line dancer; 9 masks. Face, blue-green; snake has red head and alternating red and yellow body segments; yellow snout; 4 eagle tail feathers at back of head, beneath which is a bunch of owl feathers; cotton on top of mask; wildcat pelt collar.

Saiyatac (there is a Saiyatasha kachina at Zuñi). (Fig. 29.) Side dancer; 2 masks. Face black; red triangle on forehead; black bear skin "bib" below the mouth; blue-green horns; red goat wool on head; wildcat pelt collar; carries soapweed whips in each hand; "is always cross."

Gomaiyawic (to be equated with the Koyemshi, or Mud Heads, of Zuñi). (Fig. 30.) Side dancer; 4 masks. The mask is made of soft leather; the balls which protrude are filled with seeds of various kinds; sprigs of spruce at base of knobs; face oxide red; nose, white; collar, piece of black, woolen "manta."

ʙaʙa (grandfathers). Side dancer; 2 masks; no sketch; "very old and gray; impersonated by an old gray haired man."

I'yuʙíctya ("putting black on someone's face with your hands"). Side dancer; 2 masks. No sketch.

Nyenyeka. (Fig. 30.) Side dancer; 1 mask. Has black, protruding eyeballs with white irises; black face with white design; skunk tail hanging down back of head; wildcat pelt collar; carries soapweed whip in right hand, bow and arrow in left; is cross and irritable.

Bo·tiwa. Side dancer; 1 mask. No sketch.

Kaci·na (not to be confused with kachina or katsina). (Fig. 30.) Side dancer; 1 mask. Blue-green face; red ears; blue-green wooden disk above head surmounted by three white clouds; lighting designs, white; eagle and parrot feathers; spruce collar; "he has a mirror somewhere on the top of his head."

Ctiwictiwa (or ctiwictiwi, killdeer, *Oxyechus vociferus*). (Fig. 30.) Side dancer; 1 mask. The circle in center of face is blue-green encircled by a red line; outside of this is a white band, then a black circle; the rest of the face is yellow; cotton on top of head surmounted by a wooden head piece; red ears; spruce collar. He comes with Pɛrictca, carrying a small bowl of corn flour (petana) and an eagle plume in his left hand, a little rattle in his right; he makes a "road" for the dancers.

Tsatcráti ("something that has horns"). (Fig. 30.) Side dancer; 2 masks. Black face with blue-green triangle on forehead; protruding eyeballs with white irises; goat wool on head; the horns are blue green next to the head, vermillion the rest of the way; black bearskin

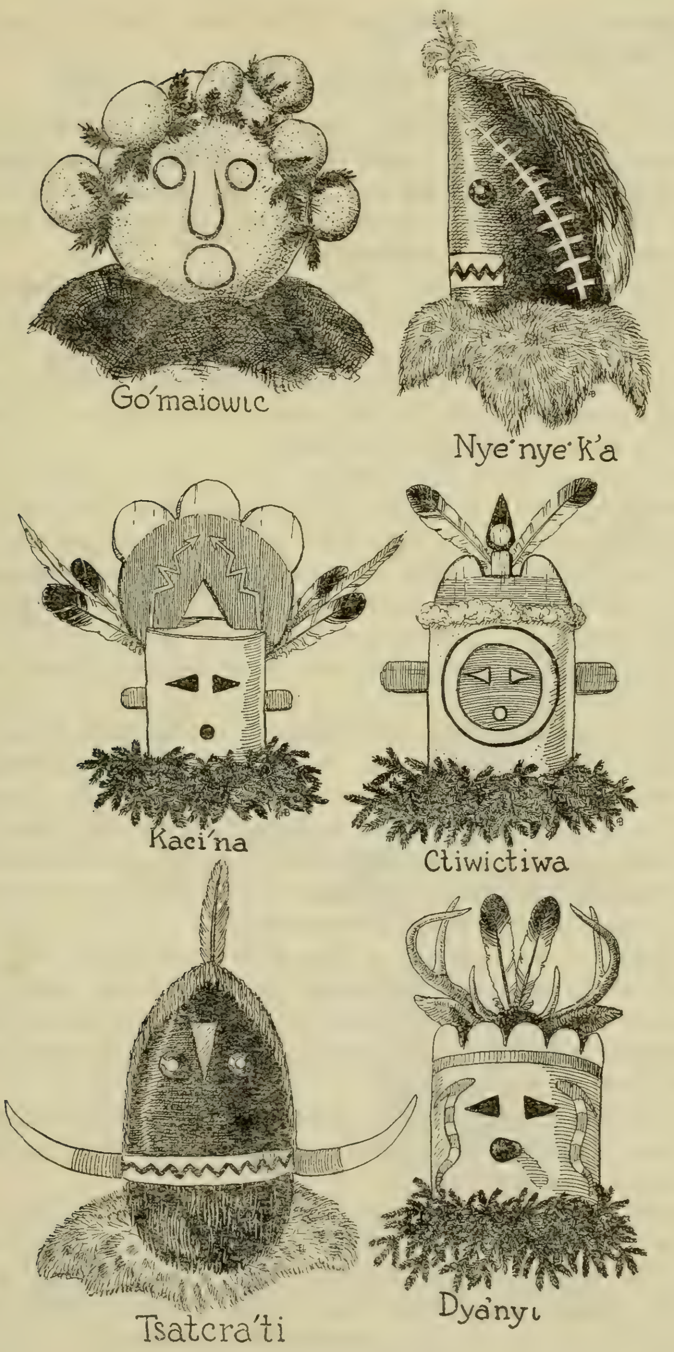

Go´maıowıc
Nye´nye´K´a
Kaci´na
Ctiwictiwa
Tsatcra´ti
Dya´nyı

Figure 30.—Katsina masks.

bib; carries a whip in each hand. This mask is almost exactly like that of Saiyatac.

### KWIRAINA SOCIETY

Dyá'nyi (deer). (Fig. 30.) Line dancer; 14 masks. Real deer horns and ears on top of mask; the ears are red on the inside, green outside; blue-green face; red and yellow segmented snakes; red band across top of face, above which are white clouds; green protruding snout with a black tip; spruce collar.

Waíoca (duck). (Fig. 31.) Line dancer; 14 masks. Sea-blue face with blue-green snout; snake has red head and alternating red and yellow body segments; a prayerstick is among the eagle and parrot feathers on the right side of his head; at the base of these feathers is a bunch of sparrow hawk (tciʟika) feathers, the "badge" of Kwiraina; spruce on top of head and spruce collar.

Mi·na (salt). There are 6 masks. "They don't come very often, only when the land is very dry; the last time they came was in 1923 and they had not come for years before that." The masks are entirely white, with icicles on their headdress; "they bring hail and ice." They do not dance; they merely walk about the pueblo while they sing one song, after which they retire. No sketch.

Kotcininako. Ten or twelve, who sometimes accompany the Deer or Duck line dancers.

Mo·kaitc (mountain lion, *Felis concolor*). (Fig. 31.) Side dancers; 2 masks. I have two sketches. No. 1 has a blue-green face; yellow snout with a red lightning design; unspun cotton on top of mask with a bunch of parrot body feathers in center; a string runs from the two eagle wing feathers; at the back of the head are two parrot feathers and a bunch of owl feathers; wildcat pelt collar; carries soap-weed whip in right hand, bow and arrow in left.

Mokaitc No. 2 has a yellow face with a red design, said to be a "hand" on the side; unspun cotton on top of head, eagle and owl feathers at back of head; the "horn" protruding from the forehead has a red lightning design; carries a soapweed whip in right hand, bow and arrow in left.

Bear or Lion katsina, or both, accompany Deer and Duck line dancers; they adjust their costumes as needed, and keep people from coming too close to them.

Hoᴅoᴅo and Wíkori. These are special katsina. They were created in the first of the underworlds, the Yellow world (see "Cosmology"). They are the patrons, or "fathers," of the Kwiraina society. Their "home" is northeast of Sia, and when they appear in a dance they always enter the pueblo from this direction "on Hoᴅoᴅo and Wikorɩ trails." They do not come very often; it is up to Tia-

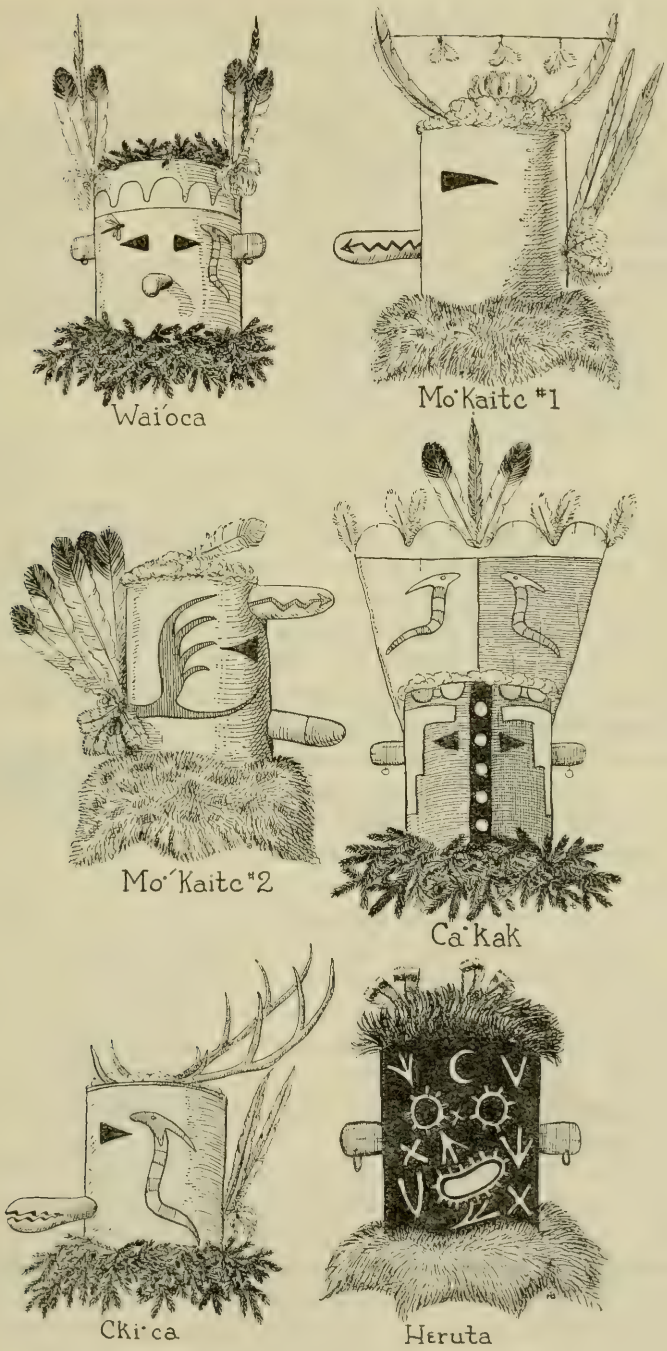

Wai´oca
Mo·Kaitc #1
Mo´Kaitc #2
Ca·Kak
Cki·ca
Heruta

Figure 31.—Katsina masks.

munyi or the War chief to ask for them. When they do come it is usually at Easter time, and always as side dancers of Deer or Duck katsina.

Hododo and Wíkori are dangerous katsina. They are always angry. They carry deer horns with which they may stab any ordinary person they may encounter. No one, therefore, is allowed to meet them when they enter the pueblo until they reach Gacitiwa, the sacred place in the north plaza, where Tiamunyi or War chief, or both, greet them. Wikorι precedes Hododo as they enter; the former carries a spruce cane. These katsina are so dangerous that there are rituals to pacify them, to keep them from injuring people. No sketches.

### FIRE SOCIETY

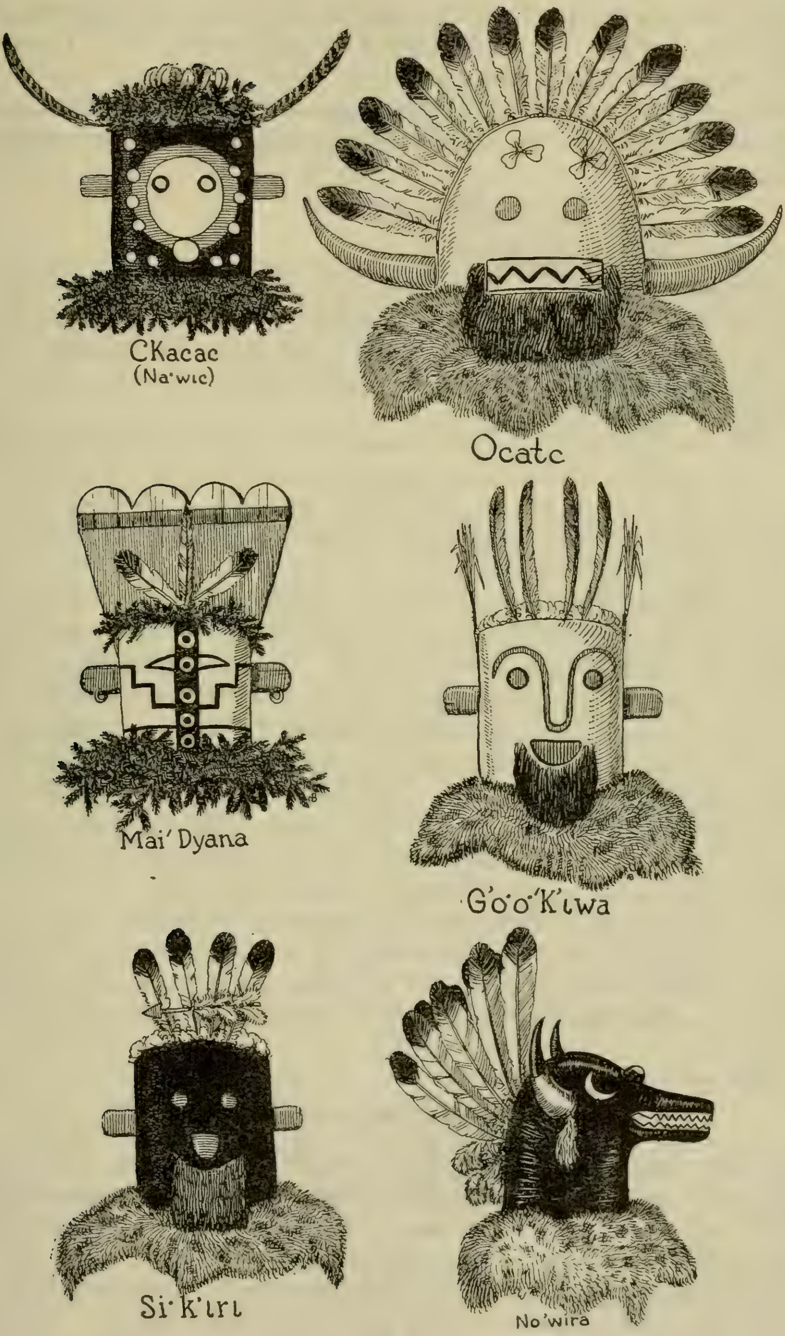
Cakak$^{a}$ (the supernatural of the north). (Fig. 31.) Line dancer; 12 masks. Unspun cotton on top of mask, and above this is a headpiece resembling the *tablita* worn by women in the dance for the saint on August 15; on top of the headpiece are white clouds; on Cakak's left side, this headpiece is sea blue; the other side is white; the snakes have red heads and red and yellow bodies. The right side of Cakak's face is blue green; the other side, sea blue; the designs between the ears and the eyes are yellow; the clouds at the top of the face are, alternating, red and yellow; the vertical band in the middle of the face is black with white circles; spruce collar.

Cgi·ca or Ckica (elk, *Cervus canadensis*). (Fig. 31.) Line dancer; 5 masks. Blue-green face and snout; inside of mouth, black; horns are of wood and grayish white; 2 parrot tails, and a bunch of parrot body feathers at back of mask; spruce collar.

Hɛ́ruta. (Fig. 31.) Side dancer; 1 mask. Black face with blue-green moon on forehead; the lines which extend from eyes and mouth are of various colors; black hair (unindentified) and short turkey body feathers on top of mask; mouth twisted on one side. Hɛ́ruta is the "chief of the katsina," and leads them in all their dances; he is left-handed; carries nothing in his hands; wears no footgear.

Mɛrinako (blue-green woman). Eight or 10 masks; they come sometimes with Cakak. Mask is like that of Kotcininako except for color of face.

Cka'ac (one informant said it may be called Nawιc, also). (Fig. 32.) Side dancer; 1 mask. This is a small mask and can be worn only by a small boy. Since it is not easy to find a young boy who can be entrusted with the secrets of the Katsina, this mask is used infrequently. The center of the face is blue green. This is surrounded by a vermilion band; the rest of the mask is black with white circles. On top of the mask are spruce twigs and a bunch of owl feathers, with a turkey wing feather on either side; spruce collar.



CKacac (Na·wic)

Ocatc

Mai' Dyana

G'o·o·'K'ıwa

Si·k'ırı

No'wira

FIGURE 32.—Katsina masks.

The Fire society also has two special kinds of bear masks called Kokohó (the ordinary word for bear is k'óhaiya; see p. 143). I believe they are not considered katsina.

Ocatc. (Fig. 32.) Side dancer; 2 masks. Blue-green face; flowers on forehead; eagle tail feathers; red horns; black fur bib; wildcat pelt collar.

### GIANT SOCIETY

Hɛ́ruta. Same as for Fire society.

Maidyana ("seven"). (Fig. 32.) Line dancer; 7 masks. Spruce twigs, 2 eagle tails, 1 parrot tail, feathers on top of mask; *tablita* is blue-green with red band across top surmounted by white clouds; lower part of face on each side, yellow; black band with white circles in middle of face; spruce collar.

Go'ókiwa. (Fig. 32.) Side dancer; 2 masks. Blue-green face; red eyes, eyebrows, and mouth; unspun cotton, 4 eagle wing feathers on top of mask; a bunch of "something like grass" on each side of top of mask; bib of "some kind of hair" beneath mouth; wildcat pelt collar.

The Go'ókiwa katsina are tied together when they enter the plaza. Hɛ́ruta presents them to Tiamunyi, who "accepts" them and tells them not to be mean (they have an irascible disposition, carry yucca whips, and are inclined to whip anyone they encounter). The Koshairi, also, admonish them and urge them to go about in a peaceful manner. After a time, Hɛ́ruta claps his hands and the Go'ókiwa lunge apart, breaking the bonds that have tied them, and rush off in different directions, whipping everyone they come across. Koshairi and Hɛ́ruta go after them and try to calm them, "but they are still mean and like to whip people, especially little [i.e., uninitiated] kids."

Síkιrι. (Fig. 32.) Side dancer; 2 masks. Black face with blue-green snout and eyes; unspun cotton, 4 eagle tail feathers, and an arrow on top of mask; the head of the arrow is red, the shaft has short fluffy eagle feathers tied to it; hair bib beneath mouth; wildcat pelt collar.

Merinako, 7 masks.

### SNAKE SOCIETY

Nó'wira (so called because he utters this cry). (Fig. 32.) Side dancer; 1 mask. Black face; horns blue-green at base, outer half is black; red wool hangs from base of each horn; blue-green crescent between horn and eye; black protruding eyeballs with white irises; white teeth; eagle tail and owl body feathers on back of mask; wildcat pelt collar. Nó'wira is a katsina hotcanyi (chief); "he is a very old man." The head of the Snake society leads him when he appears.

He carries a long flint blade in his right hand; a bow and arrow in his left.

Mókaitc (mountain lion). Side dancer; 4 masks. I do not know if this is the same kind of mask as that owned by the Kwiraina society. Perhaps one of the two previously mentioned belongs to Kwiraina; the other, to Snake society.

### KAPINA SOCIETY

Hililihó (so called "because he makes this sound when he comes"). (Fig. 33.) Side dancer; 2 masks. Blue-green face; black eyeballs with white irises; the 3 vertical lines over his right eye are red; those over the left eye, black; the horn on his left side is black; the knob on his right, blue green; bib of hair beneath mouth overlapping the wildcat pelt collar; carries a soapweed whip in his right hand; a bow and arrow in the left.

### SICTI GROUP

Pɛ́rictca. (Fig. 33.) Side dancer; number not ascertained. Blue-green face; sheep wool, dyed red, on forehead; 4 eagle tail, and a bunch of parrot body, feathers on top of mask; spruce collar.

Ho·wi. (Fig. 33.) Side dancer; number not ascertained. Unspun cotton and bunch of fluffy eagle feathers on top of mask; upper part of face is blue-green; crescent design, red; rest of face, yellow; eyes, red; mouth, blue-green; spruce collar.

Miscellaneous masks: I do not know which group they belong to.

Hɛ́nati (cloud). (Fig. 33.) Side dancer; white face, blue-green mouth; black vertical lines on forehead; one eagle wing feather on each side of face; eagle tail feathers; black bear fur bib; wildcat pelt collar; carries soapweed whip in right hand; bow and arrow in left.

O·roro ("he makes this sound when he comes"). (Fig. 33.) Black face; white lines radiate from eyes and mouth; spruce twigs on top of mask with one eagle wing feather on each side and a bunch of owl feathers in the center; coyote pelt collar; carries nothing.

Tsackanīts. (Fig. 33.) Black face with a red "hand" on the side; blue-green eyes; snout yellow; inside of mouth, red; eagle tail and owl body feathers on back of mask; wildcat pelt collar.

Saiyap‘ᵃ. (Fig. 33.) Black face; blue-green crescent; eyes and ears red; white teeth in a red mouth; eagle tail feathers; sheep wool dyed a burnt orange on sides of mask; horns blue green with black ends; wildcat pelt collar.

Bɛ́rictca. (Fig. 34.) Blue-green face; eyes outlined with black lines; his left eye is set in a red field; ears red with shell pendants; blue-green snout inside of which is black; 3 turkey tail feathers and a willow prayerstick on right side of his head; 3 turkey tail, and 1 parrot tail, feather on his left; 1 road runner tail feather, a few short,

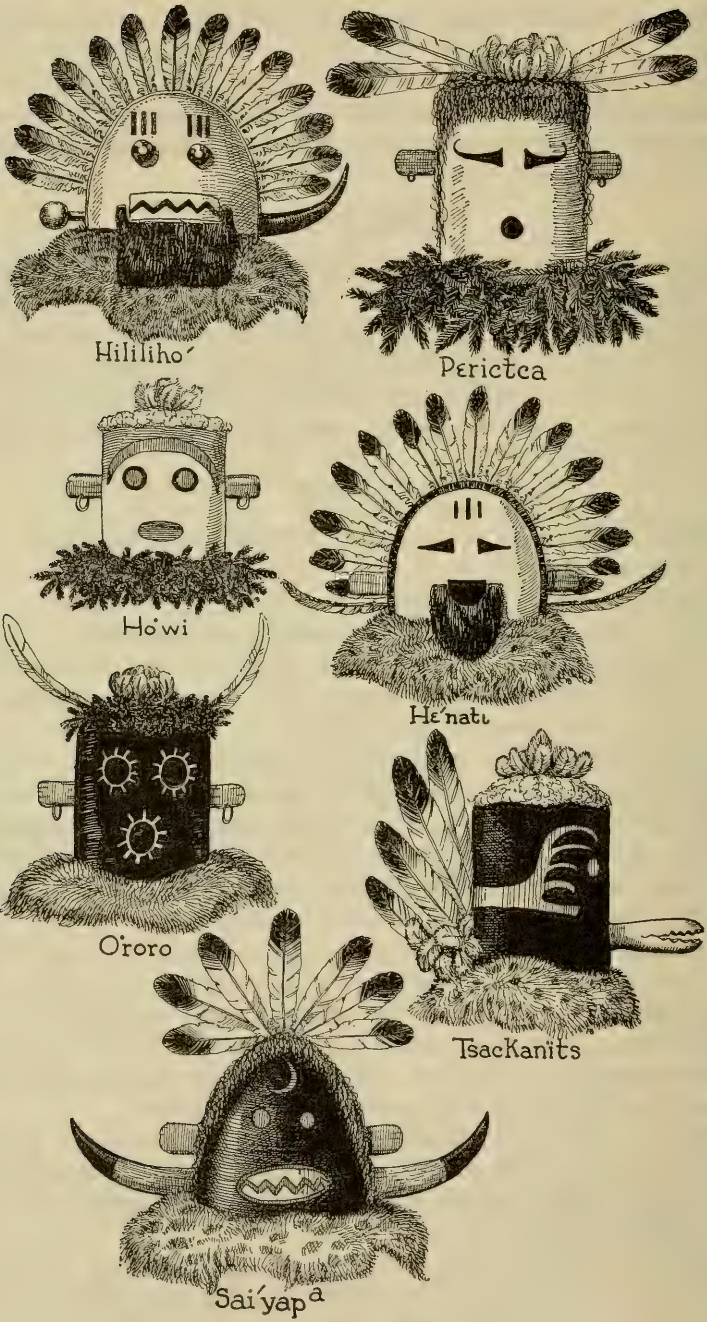

Hililiho´
Pɛrictca
Hoˑwi
Hɛ´natı
Oˑroro
TsacKanïts
Sai´yap$^a$

FIGURE 33.—Katsina masks.

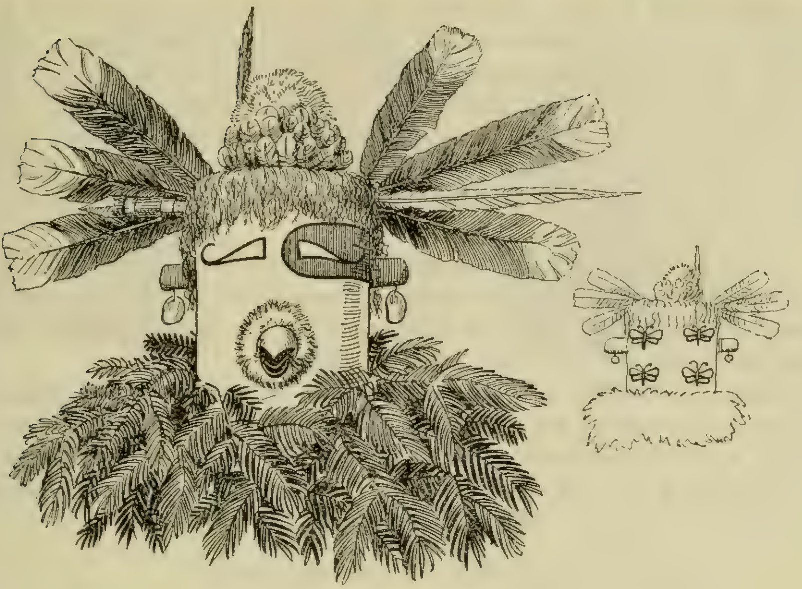


FIGURE 34.—Katsina mask (Bɛrictca).

fluffy eagle feathers and a bunch of parrot body feathers on top of head; sheep wool on forehead; back of mask is white with 4 butterflies outlined in black; spruce collar.

One of my informants, who had a copy of Stevenson's "The Sia," identified the katsina illustrated therein as follows: plate 31, A, Hɛruta, without the feathers; B, unidentified; C, Waioca, Duck; plate 32, D, Go' okiwa; E, Kohaiya (bear).

In the old days masks were made of bisonhide. Nowadays, however, it is necessary to use cowhide since bisonhide is not readily available (although there is a small herd of bison at Taos pueblo). The masks are stored in the house of the society that owns them, with the exception of Sicti, whose masks are kept by Katsina-Gomaiyawic. They must be repainted and refurbished from time to time. This is done by the society that owns them.

Blue-green paint for masks is made of mo·ckai, which is azurite, a blue basic carbonate of copper, or malachite, a green basic carbonate of copper; azurite weathers down to malachite (White, 1948, p. 368). These materials are found in the nearby mountains. Mo·ckai is ground to a fine powder with mortar and pestle and mixed with water to make paint. It is blown in a fine spray from the mouth upon the masks. Then another liquid is sprayed on to set the mo·ckai paint. This liquid is made of raw seeds of the indigenous pumpkin (*Cucurbita moschata*), called Dowai'mi ('native') Danyi ('pumpkin') to distinguish it from *C. maxima*, which is grown at Sia but is not indigenous and is therefore called mérikana ('Américan') Danyi. The seeds are chewed thoroughly. Then, keeping them in the mouth, the mouth is filled with water and mixed well with the seeds. The mixture is then drained through a cloth into a bowl; it has the color and consistency of milk. This liquid is sprayed from the mouth onto the mo·ckai; it is said to make it look darker and greener (cf. White, 1948, pp. 368–369).

A yellow paint for katsina masks is made from a collected, but unidentified, plant, called cko·maik'$^{o}$ specimen 23915, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan. It has a conspicuous four-petaled flower (White, 1945, pp. 564–565).

Gypsum ($CaSo_4$), a variety of selenite, commonly called mica, is also used to make a paint for masks. The Sia name is roDina ha'ackanyi; white mica is called howaka, 'sky,' ha'ackanyi. The latter is rubbed on a hard stone to reduce it to powder and is then mixed with water to make a white paint (White, 1948, p. 370).

## INITIATION INTO KATSINA LORE

In all Keresan pueblos small children are led to believe that the katsina impersonators are real supernatural beings. In some of the Keresan pueblos the women are supposed to be ignorant of the true identity of the masked dancers. My data are conflicting on this point. One informant stated emphatically that women never wear katsina masks; another said that they wore the Kotcininako and Merinako—the Yellow and Green Women—masks. Stevenson (1894, p. 116) reports that women do take part in masked impersonations. It may be that my informant who said that women do not wear masks did not count Yellow and Green Women as katsina.

It is up to the parents of a child to decide when he or she is old enough to be entrusted with the secrets of the katsina. When that time has come they will tell the head of Koshairi or Kwiraina, whichever one will have charge of the next masked dance, that they wish to have their child initiated. The initiation will take place on the day the dance is held. The parents or grandparents (either pair) will take the child to the house where the masked dancers gather between dances; this will be the ceremonial house of the society which has charge of the dance. They may go in the forenoon, right after the first dance, but they usually go in the afternoon.

The head of the society in charge of the dance will have been notified, of course, and Koshairi or Kwiraina nawai will ask the War chief to be present also, and he, in turn, will ask Tiamunyi to be there. The society in charge of the dance will have its meal painting (fig. 35) laid out and its slat altar erected "unless it is too crowded."

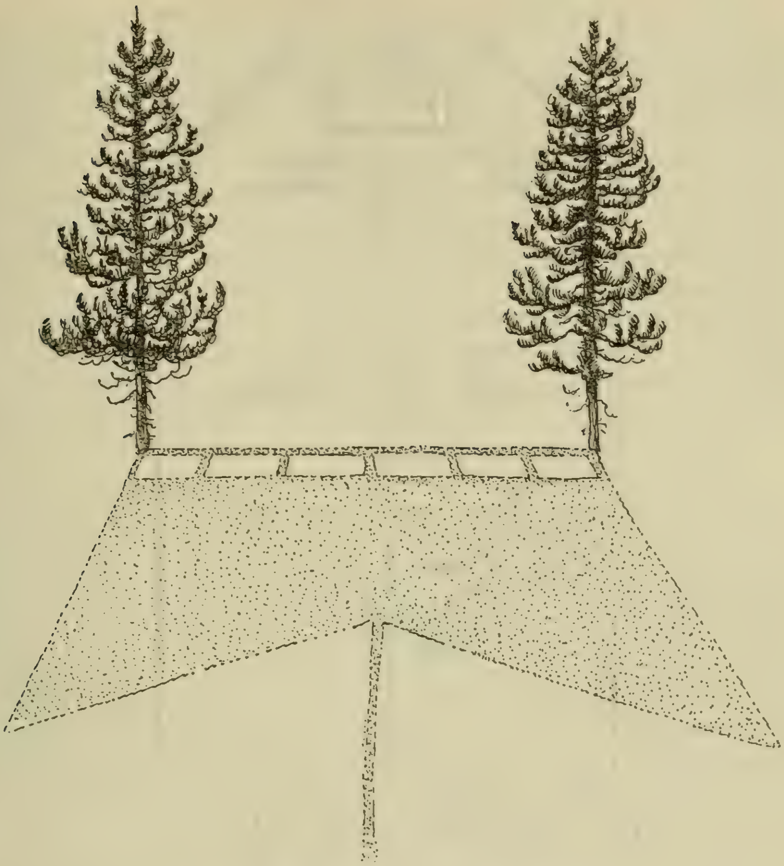


FIGURE 35.—Katsina meal-painting: initiation.

When the initiate and his escort arrive at the house they find the katsina there, standing in a line (fig. 36). The head of the society in charge of the dance makes a long talk about the katsina, who they are and what they mean to the people. Then the head of Koshairi or Kwiraina will talk. The child may be whipped as a part of the ritual of initiation; this is a widespread pueblo practice in the initiation of children. At Sia the whipping rite is optional, however, and the parents decide whether or not they want to have it. If they want to have the child whipped the head of the society in charge will ask one or more of the side dancers to do it. Then at a signal from the head of the society in charge all of the dancers remove their masks revealing themselves as well-known men of the pueblo. The head of the society talks again, impressing upon the child that although the katsina are impersonated by men they are nonetheless real and sacred and important in the life of the people. He is followed by the head

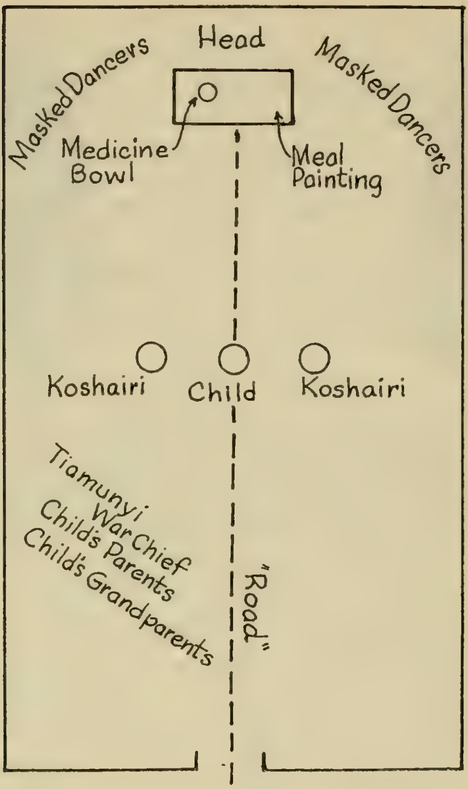

Head
Masked Dancers
Masked Dancers
Medicine Bowl
Meal Painting
Koshairi
Child
Koshairi
Tiamunyi
War Chief
Child's Parents
Child's Grandparents
"Road"

FIGURE 36.—Initiation of child into the Katsina cult.

of Koshairi or Kwiraina who addresses the child. If the Tiamunyi is there he will talk, too, and then War chief talks. The child is required solemnly to vow that he will never reveal what he has learned there (see Stevenson's account of initiation, 1894, pp. 117–118).

Masked dances may be held at any time, it is said, but most of them occur in the fall about harvest time; sometimes they are held in the spring about Easter time.

A masked dance can be initiated by the head of any society having katsina masks. In such a case he would have to secure the permission of the War chief. Or, Tiamunyi or War chief can ask for the shiwanna (katsina are frequently referred to as shiwanna) to come (i.e., to have a masked dance); in such a case the War chief would make the request to the head of the society having the kind of katsina he wanted, and he would specify which shiwanna he wanted.

If the society that is going to put on a masked dance does not have enough members, and this is usually the case, the head of the society can go to the head of any of the other societies having masks and ask for dancers; the nawai would, of course, delegate members of his own society to help. Or, the head of the society needing additional dancers could go to the head of the singers, or of the sicti—in 1941 one man was the head of both groups—and ask him for help. Members of the singers, or of the sicti, would be delegated to assist. Or, the head of the society needing more dancers could go to Tiamunyi, War chief, the governor, or fiscale, and ask for more dancers. The officer in question could call upon anyone in the pueblo, provided, of course, that he or she had been initiated into the lore of the katsina.

Persons who are to take part in a masked dance must observe the náowɛtas'nyi (ritual emesis) each morning for 4 days, and observe the taboo of notrówadyac (sexual continence) for a like period. One must not even talk to a woman in a sexual or erotic context:

> Once about 150 years ago, a man and a woman who were about to take part in a katsina dance had sexual relations with each other during the 4-day period before the dance. After the dance was over the dancers went back to their ceremonial house. This man and woman found that they could not remove their masks; they had stuck to their skin and flesh. When it was discovered that they could not take off their masks the other dancers were called to witness this marvel. Some of the people tried to take the masks off but found that they had actually become the skin and flesh of the man and woman. Then the man and woman found that they could no longer talk; they could only utter the cries characteristic of the katsina they had been impersonating. They had actually become those katsina. The people took them outdoors and then to the hotcanitsa. They walked around the pueblo—maybe to say "goodbye." Then they went down to the river and waded in. They sank down out of sight and were never seen again.

Each day, for 4 days preceding the dance, the men who are to dance leave the pueblo and go "out somewhere" to practice their dancing unobserved; in the evening they rehearse their songs in a house, borrowed for the purpose. Early in the morning of the third day some of the katsina dancers go out into the mountains to get spruce for their costumes. They take prayer feather bunches (waʙanyi) and prayer meal (petana) with them. Before they cut any spruce they tie a feather bunch to the tree, sprinkle it with meal, and offer a prayer and thanks to the tree for its branches. After this ritual for the first tree, they may take branches from any tree without more ado. They return to the pueblo after dark so that no one will see them: all preparations for the dance are kept secret from the uninitiated, who believe that the masked dancers are really katsina rainmakers from Wenima.

While the men have been in the mountains gathering spruce, the members of the society in charge of the dance, assisted by some of the dancers, get the masks ready; they must be refurbished with flowers, feathers, prayersticks, etc.

On the fourth evening (the night before the dance), the medicine society holds a ceremony in the house where the masks are being prepared. They make a sand painting, erect their altar, and lay out their paraphernalia. The ceremony consists of singing, smoking, mixing medicines and water in the ceremonial bowl, and sprinkling the dancers, masks, altar, and paraphernalia. Prayersticks, to be given to the dancers on the following day, are made. After the ceremony, altar and paraphernalia are cleared away. The dancers sleep in this house.

Early the next morning, the dancers paint themselves and don their masks and costumes. Masewi comes to conduct them to the plaza; followed by a member of the society in charge of the dance—who, incidentally, may be a woman—Masewi leads the dancers to the plaza. (See fig. 37.) The dancers carry corn, bread, fruit, and melons; they may also have a few katsina o·wak ('baby,' i.e., kachina dolls). The dancers line up facing the officers who will be seated on the west (another informant said north) side of the plaza. They lay their food offerings down and begin to dance. Masewi stands at the head of the line during the first dance. When this is over, Tiamunyi and the other officers arise, go to the dancers, and sprinkle them with prayer meal. Tiamunyi "accepts" the society that has charge of the dance, and makes a formal speech "about how the katsina have come to Sia." The head of the society then tells the dancers, in a loud voice, what Tiamunyi has said. Then the dancers distribute their gifts to the people, almost invariably to their close relatives. Small children

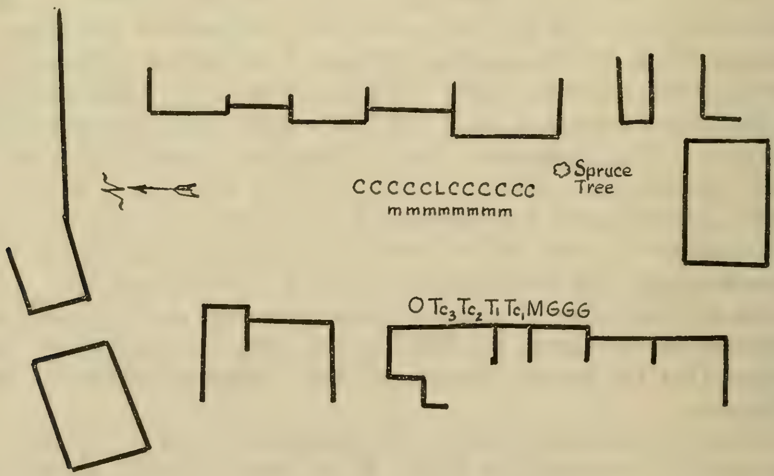


FIGURE 37.—Diagram of a masked Katsina dance. C=katsina; L=leader; M=merinako; Ti=Tiamunyi; $Tc_1$, $Tc_2$, $Tc_3$=tcraikatsi; M=Masewi; O=Oyoyewi; G=Gowatcanyi.

are enormously impressed with this, since they believe that the dancers are supernatural beings. Masewi then leads them back to their house. No one leads them to the plaza for succeeding dances except the last, when Masewi again performs this duty.

The katsina dance four times during the forenoon, after which they retire to their house for lunch, which is brought to them by women. Hɛruta stands guard in the plaza meanwhile to see that no uninitiated persons approach the katsina; Hɛruta himself does not eat until the dance is over, even if it should occupy 2 days.

The katsina dance four times in the afternoon, also. If someone in the pueblo has been ill for some time, some of the katsina may go to his house and stroke him with their soapweed whips, "to give him strength," or give him a couple of ears of corn.

After the fourth dance, the katsina line up in front of Tiamunyi who addresses them formally, thanking them for "coming to Sia and doing good." Tiamunyi tells them either that they may "go home" (i.e., return to Wénima), or that they must return for a second day's dancing; he addresses himself to the society in charge of the dance, who, in turn, tells the katsina what Tiamunyi has said. Masewi leads the dancers back to their house; if there is to be a second day of dancing, they must sleep there.

When the dance is all over, the dancers go to a sacred spot (tsapacromi) in the north plaza and pray. Then they return to their house, remove their costumes, "undress" the masks (i.e., remove the feathers and any other accessories they may have), and, after dark, go down to the river and bathe. My notes do not say when, or how, the prayersticks are deposited.

I obtained data on a katsina dance held in Sia on September 3, 1941. A group of young men volunteered to put on the dance "to give ianyi [beneficent supernatural power] to the pueblo." There were 9 Bɛrictca katsina; they were the line dancers. Two Ho·wi and one Ctiwictiwi were side dancers. And three Kotcininako accompanied the songs with the notched stick and gourd. Ctiwictiwi led the dancers into the plaza, making a road for them with meal (petana) from his bowl. The men had to obtain permission of the head of the sicti group (Andres Pino) to hold the dance; then permission from Masewi, who in turn notified Tiamunyi so that he would be ready. The dancers were obliged to vomit and to abstain from sexual relations for 4 days before the dance. They had to practice during this time, also.

"It is the duty of the War chief," Stevenson observed (1894, pp. 18–19), "to surround the village with mounted guardsmen at the time of a dance of the Katsina. A Mexican, especially, must not look upon one of these anthropomorphic beings." The same precautions were observed as recently as 1957. White school teachers, resident on the edge of the pueblo, are obliged to remain on the school premises or leave the pueblo during a dance. "What if someone in a small airplane flew over the plaza during a shiwanna dance?" I asked an informant. He replied that the dancers would retire to their house and that someone would (might) wave a blanket at the intruder to warn him to go away.

Pueblos may assist one another in their katsina dances, an informant said, just as societies occasionally help each other with their initiations or even curing ceremonies. But in actual practice this rarely happens. An individual in one pueblo may, as a consequence of a vow, take part in a katsina dance in another village; he would, of course, have to obtain the permission of the War chief (at least) to do so. I learned of specific instances: one man from Jemez, and another from Cochiti, took part in Sia dances.

The pueblo of San Ildefonso (Tewa) once asked the Sia to go to their village to assist in "restoring" their Acuwa masks, which, my informant said, had been borrowed from Sia originally. But the Sia War chief vetoed the request. What was meant by "restoring the masks" was not ascertained.

## BUFFALO DANCE

This ceremony is called moce·itc ('buffalo'), but other animals are impersonated, also. It is almost always performed in wintertime but sometimes it is given in early spring. It is performed in two different contexts: sacred and nonsacred. In the latter, any one of the officers may "ask for it," and the performers are not obliged to vomit in preparation for it. The sacred performance is requested by Masewi only, and the performers must vomit and abstain from sexual relations for 4 days before the dance. A description of this ceremony follows:

There will be two groups of dancers. Each will consist of 2 buffalo, 3 or 4 deer, 1 or 2 elk, 4 or 5 antelope, and one woman who is called Tsi˙na ('turkey'; why she is called this was not ascertainable); at San Felipe she was called "buffalo woman" and was said to be the "mother of game animals" (White, 1932 b, p. 56); at Santa Ana and at Cochiti she may be called "malinche" (White, 1942 a, p. 298; Lange, 1959, p. 325), the name of the little girl in the Mexican matachinas dance-drama. My notes do not tell how the performers are selected. Masewi will request one of the medicine societies, or Koshairi, Kwiraina or Caiyeik, to paint and dress the dancers; he usually asks either the Fire society or Kwiraina to do this because the former has elk (cɢi˙ca) masks and the latter, deer. The head of Caiyeik society will assist, also. Each group of dancers will be accompanied by a chorus of singers.

If the dance is held at Christmas time the Goyaiti ('game animals') put on their costumes, but do not paint or don their headdresses, leave the pueblo before dawn and go to a sacred spot called Cu·wιmι ('turquoise') tsinaoticɛ ('point'), where they paint themselves and put on their headdresses. The woman performer, who is called kotcininako ('yellow woman') as well as Tsina, does not go with the animals to this place; she joins them when they return to the pueblo.

Just before dawn the animal dancers deploy themselves around the pueblo: the buffalo are on the road that leads to Santa Ana, the deer on the road to San Felipe, and the antelope on the plain southeast of the village. The two groups of singers gather in the pueblo. As the sun comes up they begin to sing and the animals approach the pueblo. When they reach the edge of the village they are greeted by all the pueblo officers, including Tiamunyi and Caiyeik. The latter two address the game animals, presumably telling them why they have been asked to come, that it is for the good of the pueblo, and so on. The two women dancers join their respective groups, running about among them shaking their amakaiyam (an object decked with feathers and possibly rattles; it is held in the right hand at about the level of the face). After some milling about, the dancers go to the vicinity of the secret underground chamber, where they dance. If it is Christmas time they go to the Catholic church, enter, and dance there. If it is not Christmas time they go to the north plaza and dance, then to the south plaza where they dance in front of Caiyeik's ceremonial house, then to the hotcanitsa where they dance again. Then they retire to their house (presumably the house of the society which has painted them); sometimes each group of dancers has its own house, but usually they all use only one. The singers use another house.

Masewi instructs the singers as to how the dance is to be conducted. The two groups dance alternately in the north plaza all day "until the cacique ends it."

Sometimes the game animals, i.e., dancers, are "hunted" and "killed" by men who are not taking part in the dance. This takes place sometimes early in the morning before the animals have come into the pueblo. Men go out with guns and pretend to shoot them. When an animal is dropped the hunter runs up and sprinkles petana (prayer meal), and perhaps yakatca (red ocher) and stcamun (magnetite and hematite) on him, after which he gets up and runs to join the others. Sometimes Masewi announces, during the afternoon dancing, that the men of the pueblo may "hunt" the animals. The hunters come out with deer rifles, take aim at an animal, sometimes dropping on one knee to do so, and "shoot" it. The animal drops to the ground, the hunter runs up, puts the animal on his shoulder, and carries it to his, the hunter's, house. There he lays the animal on the floor and treats it as he would a real deer brought home from the mountains. I entered the house of a friend once during such an occasion. There, lying on an old bear skin on the floor, was an "antelope", i.e., a small boy dancer. Bending over him, in a kneeling position, was the man of the house who had just "shot" the antelope and brought him to his house. The man had his back to me and I could not see clearly what he was doing, but he was occupied with the neck or head of the antelope-boy. After a time the antelope rose to his feet. At this point the wife came into the room from the kitchen bearing an Indian basket full of food: bread, a few tin cans of food, and so on, which she handed to her husband. He in turn placed it into the antelope-boy's hands, continuing, however, to hold the basket himself. Then the man began to talk: perhaps he was praying, or perhaps he was addressing the antelope, thanking him for coming to Sia. The wife and a small child stood by, facing the antelope and the man. Everyone was solemn and serious; no one paid the slightest attention to me. The man talked for 3 or 4 minutes. When he had finished, he and the antelope left the house together, the latter carrying the basket of food. Only after they had left did the wife relax and speak to me. But no mention was made of the ritual I had just witnessed.

The buffalo and the woman dancer, too, may be hunted, but they are merely led to the house, not carried. Dancing is resumed after the hunt.

When the ceremony is over the dancers go to their house, where they are dismissed by Masewi and the head of the society which painted them. Then they go down to the river and bathe; one informant said that they could bathe in their own homes.

The costumes of the dancers, with the exception of the buffalo heads, belong to individuals; the heads belong to the pueblo. In 1941 Sia had four buffalo heads, one of which had been acquired from San Felipe in 1934. "They used to have buffalo heads made of bear skin and fur, but they had real buffalo horns." The Fire society has four pairs of bison horns; Koshairi has two pairs.

These animal dances are, of course, associated with hunting: "They give the hunters power over the game." Also, they bring moisture in the form of snow. At Cochiti, "the buffalo is considered to have unusual curative powers" (Lange, 1959, p. 328).

Game animal dances are performed in all the Keresan pueblos and among the Tewa villages as well. There is an account of the ceremony at Santa Ana in White (1942 a, pp. 296–302), illustrated with sketches of bison and deer dancers by a native artist and of other performers by a white artist. A brief description of the San Felipe ceremony may be found in White (1932 b, pp. 56–58). Lange (1959, pp. 325–328) describes the dance at Cochiti, with sketches of the headdresses of the bison and women dancers. Choreography and songs of the buffalo dance at Cochiti are provided by Kurath in Lange (1959, pp. 539–545). Densmore (1938, pp. 143–166) offers a lengthy description of the dance at Santo Domingo; see, also, Lange's briefer account (1954, pp. 151–155).

I witnessed a buffalo dance in Sia on Christmas day, 1954. There were 2 buffalo, 3 deer, 3 antelope, a woman, and a leader of the dance (Caiyeik?) accompanied by a group of singers. The buffalo dancers were painted in a manner different from anything I had ever seen, however. The arms, from elbow to wrist, and the legs from knee to ankle, were painted with red ocher. On the chest and in the middle of the back was a red disk with white eagle down around the perimeter.

## ÁTSɛ́’ɛDÁNYI: AN OPI DANCE

The following is an account of an Opi dance, put on by the Kwiraina society, called Átsɛ́’ɛᴅányi, which I witnessed in Sia on December 27, 1938. Supplementary information was obtained later from informants. One said that the ceremony might be called wi·mo·ti, and that the purpose of the dance is to free a man from evil influence after he has taken part in armed conflict with an enemy.

The dancers rehearsed on the evening of December 26. On the morning of the 27th, officers went around the pueblo about 9:30, after the service in the church, summoning the people who were to take part to the new kiva (Wren), to practice. They entered the kiva about 10 a.m.

At about 12 m. the dancers came out of the kiva. There was only one group. Most of the dancers were males, who ranged in age from rather young boys to old men. There were about 50 or 60 male performers, which must have been a large portion of the able-bodied males in the pueblo. There were very few women performers. The dancers went to the north plaza, the one nearest the church.

Most of the men were dressed in everyday costume of trousers and shirt. A few wore bright pink or green satinlike shirts. Some wore riding breeches; others wore ordinary trousers or blue jeans. One man wore the pajamalike trousers such as are worn by the singers at the "corn" dance; he wore also a green shirt (from a store), with the tails outside his trousers. All the men wore high-topped white buckskin moccasins, and headbands of various colors. Many of the men had red ocher (yakatca) smeared under each eye and on the cheek bones. They carried nothing in their hands. Almost all of them had so-called Indian blankets, purchased in stores, wrapped around their hips.

When the group arrived, singing, into the little plaza, they formed a circle within which two dancers, a man and a woman, placed themselves. The man was dressed in everyday shirt and trousers. A Navaho rug was folded and wrapped around his hips; it was held on by a leather belt to which many hoofs (deer, sheep, or calf?) were attached in the back. He wore high, white-topped moccasins. To his forelock was tied what appeared to be two pieces of cornhusk, folded. Under each eye and across the cheekbone was a stripe of white, or light yellow paint; his lips, especially the lower one, were similarly painted. In his left hand he carried a bow and two or three arrows; in his right hand he held a stone ax, hafted to a wooden handle with leather thongs. He wore a loop of old 1-inch rope which lay on his left shoulder and around his body, under his right arm, and down to about his waist; this was in imitation of the ya′racᴅyúma, worn by the real Opi. The knot, where the ends of the rope were tied together, rested on his left shoulder.

The woman was wearing the old-fashioned, dark woolen sleeveless dress, which leaves the left shoulder bare, such as is worn in the "corn" dance. Over this she wore a dress elaborately embroidered in red and yellow geometric designs plus some birdlike designs. She wore white moccasins and leggings. On her head was tied a large, white fluffy feather which hung down over her forehead. On her back she had a large bunch of bright green and orange parrot feathers; the bunch was placed between her shoulders, a slight distance from her body, and with the feathers, quill ends down, extending upward, reaching slightly above her head. She had a stripe of black paint running vertically down the middle of her chin and a like stripe on each upper arm. A small fox, or foxlike, skin hung from her right wrist; many strings of shells were wound around her left wrist.

The man and woman dancers were inside the circle of singers who faced the center; the circle of singers were dancing as well as singing. They were accompanied by one drummer. They started a song. The woman danced behind the man, who acted as though he were but half alive, or very stupid, or both. Some of the men in the circle would yell something at him, and the others would laugh at what had been said. Then one of the male singers would run out to the man within the circle and show him how to dance. Then another singer would run in and try to make the dancer shoot an arrow, or dance like a Koshairi, or in some other manner. One of the singers shook the rattles on the dancer's belt in a vigorous manner; another pulled his trousers out of his moccasin tops and down over his feet. Still another tried to make him hold a loose end of the rope in his mouth. At each one of these little episodes the singers would laugh. During all this time the male dancer assumed a docile, submissive attitude, submitting to the horseplay but showing no other response. He acted as though he were thoroughly stupid. No one paid any attention to the woman dancer.

After a few songs, the circle broke up and formed 4 or 5 rows of men and boys of about 12 men to a row, and sang and danced slowly toward the north. The woman danced either in front of the singers or among them. The male dancer, with one man by his side, followed the singers, dancing as he went. When the singers reached the end of the plaza they turned around and danced slowly back, singing. The male dancer and his woman companion were now in front. When the group was almost in the middle of the plaza they stopped and formed a big, roundish group. The male dancer and his companion turned around and faced the singers. One or two old men also were facing them. They started a new song. The female dancer, followed by two or three old women in the costume of the "corn" dance, danced around the circle from north to west, south, then east, weaving in and out among the singers as they went. After a song or two, men and women bearing presents in baskets, tubs, and blankets came into the plaza, up to the singers and started throwing their gifts: melons, dishes, squash, canned goods, cloth, bread, candy, feathers, hides, a young beef's head (skinned), pottery, garlic, chili, cigarettes, a large, kerosene lamp, etc., to the singers who scrambled for them with great zest. Occasionally someone got hit rather severely by a can of corn or the like. The man and woman dancer and a few others took no part in this scramble.

After the presents had been thrown to the singers, the younger men and boys formed two parallel lines facing each other and extending in a north-and-south line (××  in fig. 38). The older men formed a group of singers with drummer, D, on the east side at the south end of the line. While they sang, the special woman dancer, W♀, and one or two old women, $W_1$, $W_2$, danced back and forth between the two rows of men. Sometimes the woman dancer faced and danced sideways, moving both feet at once; sometimes she danced toward the north, then toward the south. The man dancer, M, and his companions, C, stood at the south end of the lines facing the dancing women. During the dancing a man in the east line fired a rifle twice in an interval of some minutes.

When the songs were finished, everyone stopped where he was. Then everyone went to the two dancers, the man and the woman, and drew their hands across their bodies or their clothing to get ianyi (beneficent supernatural power) from them. One man appeared to sprinkle the male dancer with petana (prayer meal). Some of the

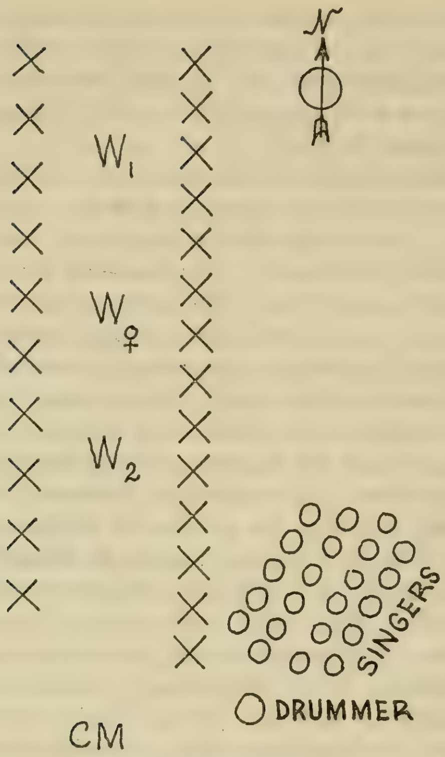


FIGURE 38.—Atsɛ'ɛDanyi.

spectators, who were not taking part in the ceremony at all, went up to the two dancers to get ianyi. The two dancers stood quietly until this ritual was over.

When everything was finished all started to leave the plaza, going toward the south. Just as they were about to leave, a man called out something and they all stopped. The male dancer went about among the men and boys looking for someone to select as his successor. When he had found the man he wanted he hit him very lightly on the back, near the neck, with his hand ax, thus indicating his choice. Exclamations were made by all the men, and then all went back to the kiva.

The woman dancer does not choose her successor; all of the women performers have been chosen at least as early as the day before.

After rehearsing for a time at the kiva the group returns to the plaza with its newly selected male dancer and with another woman dancer. The whole procedure is then gone through again. There were about four or five dances during the afternoon.

## FEAST FOR THE DEAD

This ceremony is called BaBa siBonyitsaityuko, "grandfathers coming back from the west" (BaBa 'grandfather'; Bonami, 'west'). The Place of Emergence, through which the people passed when they came up from Shipap in the lowest of the four worlds, is located in the "middle North," and it is said that when a person dies "he goes back to Shipap." But the Home of the Dead is at GyityiBokai, a house located in the Northwest Corner of the world (see fig. 12).

> Our mother Utctsiti loved her hano sicti (people common) so very much that she set aside a day for them to come back to the place where they once lived. This day was November first. The people used to come back in the bodies that they had when they were alive on this earth. But it made the people that were living feel very sad to see their relatives who had come back [from the land of the dead]. And when the dead had finished their visit and the time had come for them to go back to Shipap, the living people wanted to go back with them, but they could not do this. All this caused so much grief that Utctsiti decided that the dead should come back to visit their former homes in spirit only. This is the way it is today.[33]

On the morning of November 1, and perhaps even before, the people of Sia prepare food for the souls that will return on that day. At the same time all medicinemen go to their respective ceremonial houses to make prayersticks; tiamunyi and the tcraikatsi hold open house in the hotcanitsa at this time, also. A capitani (governor's helper), functioning as a helper to fiscale, rings the church bell all morning. It is rung slowly during the morning, but about 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon it is rung rapidly; this tells the people that the dead have returned to Sia.

The souls of persons who had been members of societies go to their respective ceremonial houses; the others go to the houses of their own families or closest relatives. The souls of persons who now have no close relatives living go to a ceremonial house. All of the women of Sia take food to the ceremonial houses (this probably means that a woman will take food to one, or possibly more, of the ceremonial houses; not that each woman takes some food to each house). Each society has a little atcin (slat altar)—"not the regular one"—set up and a little sand, or meal, painting laid down, upon which an iariko (corn-ear fetish) and medicine bowl of water are placed. When the women have finished bringing food to the ceremonial houses, the nawai in each one welcomes the returned spirits and invites them to eat. Anyone (i.e., Indian) may go into a ceremonial house at this time.

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[33] Stevenson (1894, p. 143) has the gist of this in her account also. But she mentions something else that is exceedingly interesting and which we have not encountered elsewhere among the Keresan pueblos: the spirits of the dead cannot "pass through the entrance to the other world [the land of the dead]; they must first die or grow old and again become little children to be able to pass through the door of the world for the departed."

One cannot help but think of the desire to reenter the womb of the mother that is found among some psychoneurotics in our society. The spirits of the dead among the Keres actually do return to, and enter, the "four-fold womb of the earth," and, according to Sia philosophy, they must become little children before they can pass through the entrance to the afterworld. And did not Jesus Christ say that people would have to become like little children in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven?

Meanwhile the women of each household have placed food of various kinds on the floor of their houses for the spirits. They take fine clothes, beads and jewelry out of their trunks and hang them on the horizontal pole that is suspended a short distance from the ceiling in almost all Sia houses. The purpose of this is to permit the spirits to dress and ornament themselves as they wish, and the people of the household invite them to do so.

About 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon (i.e., about the same time that the soul of a deceased person is dispatched on his journey to Shipap), the food that has been set out for the spirits is taken outside the pueblo, toward the north to a place where there are two large rocks and here it is thrown on the ground. Then the people come back to their houses and eat, after which any remaining food, and the dishes, are cleared away. In the ceremonial houses the food remains untouched. The members of the societies stay in their houses, but any non-members who may be there go to their homes.

That evening about 5 or 6 o'clock, the sacristan, fiscales, and capitani go around the pueblo from house to house. At each one they say a prayer or two in Spanish. They carry a little church bell which they ring. Upon arriving at a house they call out "horemo, horemo."[34] At the conclusion of each prayer they say this again. The woman of the house brings them food which they take to the church; it is for the men who are going to gamble that evening and night.

The men of the pueblo gather at the church on the evening of November 1 to play hidden ball (yanó), a gambling game; they divide themselves into two teams as they please. Four hollow tubes, each with a distinguishing mark, are used. Into one of these a pebble is secretly hidden by one team; the other side tries to guess which tube contains it. Other sticks may be used as counters (see Culin, 1907, pp. 351–352, for accounts of this game at Acoma and Laguna. In Stevenson's account of Sia mythology (1894, p. 61), the Tiamunyi plays hidden ball with Poshaiyanne in an attempt to win jewelry from him). Mexicans are permitted to play, too, if any happen to be in the pueblo. Tobacco, small bars of soap, or any inexpensive articles are wagered. The idea of the game is that when one loses a wagered article the spirits of the dead take it back with them but give the loser ianyi ("blessing") in return: "the dead are really always the losers because they give more than they get." The players sing when their side is in possession of the tubes in which the pebble is hidden. If anyone goes outside the church during the game he pulls the bell rope once, ringing the bell. The men gamble all night.

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[34] From Spanish oremos, 'hear us.' On All Souls' Eve, November 1, children in Spanish communities used to go around the village with sacks asking for food and candy. They sang:

¡Oremos! ¡Oremos! Angelitos
Somos del cielo venimos
A pedir limosna, y si no nos
Dan, puertas y ventanas
¡Quebraremos!
¡Oremos! ¡Oremos!

Hear us! Hear us! Little angels are we
Who from Heaven have come
To ask for alms,
And if we are denied
Doors and windows we will break!
Hear us! Hear us!

(Nina Otero, 1936, pp. 71–72.)

Before the gambling game begins, the men eat the food that has been brought to the church by the sacristan and fiscales.

The next morning, the fiscales call the people to church shortly after sunrise. Everyone must bring something, crops of some kind, with him as an offering to the spirits: "a stalk of corn, for example, with two ears on it for the dead to use as a cane because they are old."

In the forenoon of November 2 the Catholic priest comes to say Mass. This is the time when he is paid for his services for the year. The women of the households bring food, mostly grain, and other things to the church for the priest, the sacristan, the fiscales, and the governor. The priest blesses the graves in the churchyard after Mass. The souls have now left the pueblo and have gone back to the land of the dead. The people leave the church and return to their homes.

Prior to the Mass, the members of societies go to their ceremonial houses and take the food that had been brought there the day before and carry it to their homes for their own use.

### OWɛ

There is no English equivalent for owɛ; all songs in this ceremony begin and end with this word.

The oweh (owɛ) dance is held in the spring while the irrigation ditches are being cleaned and made ready for use, or after this work has been completed. The governor or his capitani initiate and direct the dance, but they must ask Masewi for permission to do so. "Masewi *could* ask for the dance," one informant said, "but it is the governor's right to put it on." Another informant said that fiscale mayor could ask for the dance. The officers who are going to put on the dance meet with Masewi in the hotcanitsa to obtain his permission. The date will be set and the people notified; the dance will be held 2 or 4 days after the public announcement to give the people time to get ready and the dancers time to make new songs; new songs are always made for each dance.

Both kiva groups dance; the dances are held in the kivas. Dancing begins early in the evening and lasts until midnight, or sometimes almost until sunrise. People living around the north plaza go to Wren kiva; those who live near the south plaza go to Turquoise kiva. The male dancers dress in the costume worn by the singers in the feast for the Blessed Virgin on August 15; the women dress in the costume of August 15. The women daub white clay on their bangs and on the hair on the sides of their heads. The men paint their hands white and smear red ocher on their faces.

Each group dances in the kiva of the other group. The Wren kiva group will go first to the Turquoise kiva where they will sing and dance two songs after which they return to Wren kiva. Then the Turquoise group goes to Wren kiva where they sing and dance two songs. Each group goes to the kiva of the other group four times. There is no chorus; the dancers do their own singing; each group has its own drummer. Each group has a male dance leader; he is the only one who carries a rattle. My informant said that the men dance in a fixed order; that the women may dance wherever they please, but in a diagram of the dance (fig. 39) he shows men and women, alternating, in a line. No one may have sexual relations or engage in love making "or even talk about things like this" during the night of the dance. During, or at the conclusion of, the dance, a supper is eaten in the kiva.

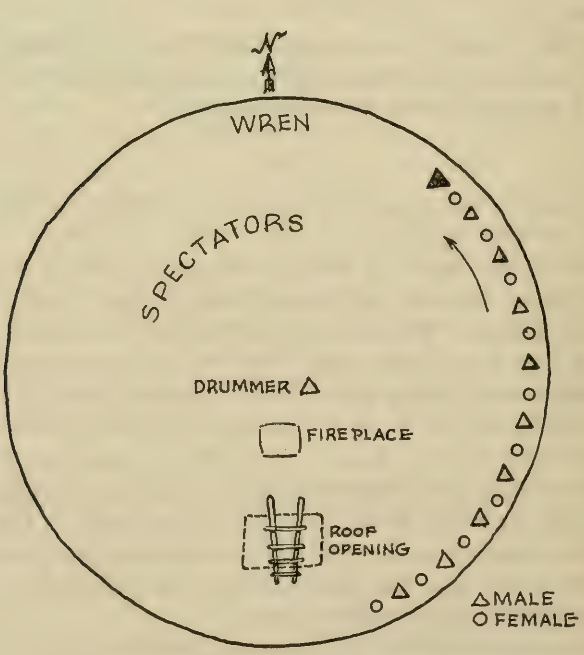

Figure 39.—Owe dance in Wren kiva.

The purpose of the dance is to ask for blessings and gifts of all kinds: "gawai'aiti (plant food, both wild and domesticated), goyaiti (game), yaseᴅyume ('to bring forth children'), ianyi, long life, through rain to the lands."

"Sometimes it is hard to get the people out to practice and dance." In such a case the War chief could ask the Koshairi for help. Koshairi would then request people to take part "and they would *have* to do it."

Oweh is usually danced for one night only, but it could be repeated a few days later "if the people wanted it." In this case, however, they would have to make up new songs. (See White, 1942 a, p. 243, for a description of this dance at Santa Ana.

## NOTES ON OTHER DANCES AND CEREMONIES

*H‘a·h‘a·bo* (no English equivalent).—The Kapina society has charge of this dance. It is held in the spring or early summer; it is addressed "to the flowers, butterflies, and plants coming up." Sometimes it is danced at Easter. Both men and women dance in a long line. A man at the end of the line carries a basket:

> In the basket were things covered with fur. The basket was covered because there were some White people there. This is a sacred dance; it should not be seen by non-Indians. The basket contained all different kinds of corn, kotcininako "yellow woman," and a beautiful thing—the most beautiful thing in Sia. Its name is komanaiko.

No more information could be obtained about komanaiko. During the dance a man and woman together take the basket and its contents and dance with them; after a time another couple dances with them, and so on. (See White, 1942 a, p. 245, for an account of this dance at Santa Ana.)

*O·wamo·ts.*—This word is said to express "a welcome to the crops." It is held, upon request by tiamunyi, just before the corn is harvested. It is performed by one of the medicine societies. The ceremony takes place in the house of the society in charge. It lasts for 4 days and there are no outsiders. No one can harvest his crops until O·wamo·ts is performed. It applies specifically to corn, but it can embrace other crops as well.

*Aýayutsiɢyits.*—"To dismiss the grain that has fallen on the ground during the harvest and has not been picked up." It is held at the request of the Tiamunyi or War chief soon after the harvest. The ceremony is performed by one of the medicine societies in their ceremonial house. Only members of the society are present.

*Tcákwena* (no English equivalent).—At Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 107) and San Felipe (White, 1932 b, p. 31) Tcakwena is a katsina impersonated in masked dances; at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, p. 245) it was said that he "used to be a katsina." My notes are not positive on this point, but I believe that the Tcakwena dance at Sia is not masked. It is held, in wintertime only, at the request of Masewi, who selects the men to take part; no women dance. Details of costume and ritual were not obtained.

*Káiyakaiyátiya* (no English equivalent was obtained).—This is said to be the Flute dance. It was said to be an organization, or group, also: "if your parents, or your mother, belonged to it then you are a member, too." One could become a member upon request and a vow, however. This dance is rarely performed; the last time was in 1926. It could be performed in either summer or winter. No other Keresan pueblo has a flute dance as far as I know. Jemez pueblo, however, has a Flute ceremony (Parsons, 1925, pp. 81–87); perhaps Sia has performed it in imitation of Jemez in the past.

*Eagle* (*Dya'mɪ, 'eagle'*) *dance.*—This is performed by one or two men, as a rule, who wear eagle costumes, accompanied by a drummer and singers. It may be danced at any time, but it is always danced at Christmas time, according to one informant.

## NOTES ON A NAVAHO DANCE AT SIA, SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 1955

As I entered the plaza early in the afternoon, two "Navaho girls" came out of a nearby house and spoke to me: "Yata hay" (this is an almost universal greeting between Navaho and White people). The "girls" were young men of Sia dressed like Navaho women: velvet jackets, long full skirts, brown moccasins, and many necklaces. Their faces were heavily smeared with red ocher; their hands were painted white. Four such "women" took part in the dance. Only one had long hair and it was tied up in Navaho fashion; the other young men wore wigs. Each "woman" carried two eagle tail feathers, set in a wooden handle to which many small shells were attached, in each hand.

Six or seven Sia men, dressed like Navaho men—big black hats, colored shirts, white, pajamalike trousers, concho belts, and moccasins; some wore dark glasses; a few wore moustaches. One man carried a small drum; the others each carried a small, black rattle such as impersonators of the buffalo carry in the Buffalo dance.

In one or two dances, the men sat in a group and sang, accompanied by drum and rattles. The girls danced by twos, each pair facing the other; they exchanged positions frequently during the dance. They danced with much vigor, lifting their feet and knees high.

In another dance, four of the Navaho men danced with the girls, in pairs, in a circle around the drummer and one or two singers, in a counterclockwise circuit. After dancing for a time they broke ranks and began talking Navaho. Then all the Navaho, both men and women, went among the spectators and each took a partner, of the opposite sex. They formed a circle, the women on the inside, and danced. There was a great deal of "kidding" and good humor about all this. Some of the spectators recruited by the dancers were Indians from Santo Domingo. Some of the dancers merely walked around instead of dancing. I noted a young Sia man who had been chosen by a Navaho "girl" as her partner. She gave him some feathers to hold in his right hand and showed him how to move them. Then she put her arm over his shoulder and he put his arm around her waist and they danced.

During the dance a string of beads of one of the Navaho women broke and three or four male spectators came out to pick up the beads; finally, one of them removed all of the girls' necklaces.

It was impossible to take note of everything that happened when the dance ended, but I noted that the young man mentioned above put something into the hand of his partner (was this payment for the dance?). Then, as he left her, he put his hands together, cupped them as if he were holding water, then swiftly put them to his face to draw the breath (ianyi, blessing) from them.

There were relatively few spectators to this dance. It had been "put on just for fun"; it was not a pueblo ceremony under the authority of the Tiamunyi or War chief. Quite a number of people did not bother to go out of their houses to watch it.

## FIESTA FOR THE SAINT

The Catholic mission at Sia is dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion; the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is held annually on August 15. The Fiesta at Sia is so much like that of other Keresan pueblos, and it has been described so many times—there is even one published account for Sia (Lange, 1952)—a detailed description is not necessary here. (See White, 1942 a, pp. 246–255, for an account of the technical ceremonial details of the dance at Santa Ana; there is good reason to believe that an almost identical procedure is followed at Sia. See also, Parsons, 1923 b, for Santa Ana; White, 1935, pp. 159–160, Bourke, 1884, pp. 10–53, Densmore, 1938, pp. 92–110, and Lawrence, 1927, "The Dance of the Sprouting Corn," for Santo Domingo; White, 1932 a, for Acoma; Boas, 1925, pp. 211–212, Goldfrank, 1923, and Vogt, 1955, for Laguna; and Lange, 1959, pp. 341–353, for Cochiti; Bandelier described it in "The Delight Makers," 1918, pp. 136 ff.; and a brief account in Poore, 1894, pp. 437–439. Stevenson, however, did not describe this ceremony.)

The principal features of the Fiesta of August 15 are a Mass conducted by a Catholic priest in the Mission and dancing by Sia Indians in the plazas. But many other things are associated with it. It is a general social occasion for all residents of the region. Many Navaho Indians come from miles in their wagons, and camp in Sia, or on the outskirts, for days. Indians and Mexicans from nearby communities attend in large numbers. Anglo-Americans, both tourists and residents of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, come. Sia holds open house to all; anyone is welcome to eat in any house. Many concessionaires set up their stands and sell food, soft drinks and knickknacks. Indians of Sia and other pueblos offer pottery for sale, and Navahos barter blankets and turquoise jewelry. Many households kill a beef or a sheep and all lay in a large supply of groceries for the occasion. Everyone wears his or her best costume for the day. And, in spite of great effort to prevent it, there is considerable drinking and drunkenness among hosts and guests alike.

Rehearsals for the dance begin weeks beforehand. New songs are made every year. I do not know how participation in the ceremony is determined. No doubt much of it is voluntary, but a person may be requested—ordered—to take part. A young man who was employed in Albuquerque and who returned to the pueblo only on weekends told me in 1957 that he would take me to the irrigation dam when I came to Sia the day before the dance. But when I got there he told me that he had to go to dance practice. "I thought you weren't going to dance," I reminded him. "That's what *I* thought, too," he replied. Obviously he had been ordered to take part.

I shall now give a résumé of the feast as I observed it in 1957; it was essentially like the fiestas I had seen at Sia many times before.

The image of the Blessed Virgin will be brought into the south plaza after Mass on August 15, and a house is prepared for her the day before. It consists of a roof and three walls; it is open at the north end. The roof consists of cottonwood boughs; the walls are hung with Navaho blankets; bunches of green corn—the entire stalks—are on each side of the doorway. There is a table in the rear of the house to receive the image of the saint. On the wall behind the table hangs that mysterious decorated blanket, the gaotiyɛ (see p. 314). It is hung there in the morning before Mass and is removed after the saint has been returned to the church after the dance.

On August 15, at 8:30 a.m., candles were burning in the church and the image of the Blessed Virgin was ready for her procession through the pueblo. She was dressed in a blue robe (of window-curtainlike material), and placed on a small platform with a bar on each side, extending beyond the platform so that four persons could carry it. Two priests with a number of nuns had come from the mission at Jemez to perform the Mass between 9 and 10 a.m. The church service was attended by many Spanish Americans, especially women, Indians from Sia and other pueblos—but no Navaho—and a relatively small number of Anglo-Americans. Since a large percentage of the Sia had to get ready for the dance which follows, and others were busy with cooking and household chores, relatively few of them attended the church service.

When the service was over a procession was formed and the saint was carried out of the church. The governor and his lieutenant, carrying their beribboned canes of office, led the procession. Two men carrying lighted candles came next, followed by fiscale mayor and his lieutenant. The saint on her litter, carried by four women came next; four men, Indians and Spanish Americans, held a canopy over her. Then came the Catholic priests and nuns, followed by those who had attended the service in the church. As the procession began to emerge from the church, a boy rang the church bell spiritedly and the drummer (kahera) rolled his drum. Young men fired very old guns from time to time as the procession made its way through the plazas.

Sometimes Bocaiyanyi and Santiago, on their horses, (see "Equestrian Impersonations") take part in the procession. If they come, they wait outside the church for the saint to emerge and then take their place at the head of the procession, immediately behind the governor and his lieutenant. Each horse will be accompanied by a tcapio, and Masewi and Oyoyewi will be in attendance.

Upon leaving the church the procession proceeded through the north plaza into the south plaza, circled the two sacred stones there (see p. 49), and then went to the saint's house where the image was deposited on the table in the rear. A certain song, "Santa Maria . . ." is always sung during the procession at Sia as well as at other Keresan pueblos. Prayers were said after the saint had taken her place in the house, after which the Catholic priests returned to the church. Old men—medicinemen and officers—sat on benches on either side of the house as long as the saint remained there, and a guard, armed with a gun, stood on either side of the house at the entrance.

Next came the dance in honor of the saint. It is the dance commonly called "corn dance" by Anglo-Americans and by Indians when talking to Anglo-Americans, but this name is misleading because it has nothing directly to do with corn. It is also called a tablita (the wooden head piece worn by women dancers) dance. One Sia informant said that its proper name is howina·yɛ, "because all the songs end with this word." At other pueblos it may be called Backo (White, 1935, p. 159, for Santo Domingo; Boas, 1928, p. 338, line 6, for Laguna). At Santo Domingo it may be called ayac tcucotz (White, 1935, p. 159; Bandelier, "The Delight Makers", 1918, pp. 136 et seq.). Lange (1959, p. 352) says that howina·yɛ and ayac tcucotz designate two different "phases" of the dance.

The dance is held under the authority of the War chief, but either the Koshairi or the Kwiraina society will have direct charge and management of it and its participants; one society will officiate one year, the other the next.

Shortly after the saint had been deposited in her house the Koshairi (in 1957), accompanied by Masewi, marched through and around the pueblo, singing and shaking their bunches of hoof rattles. They passed from the north plaza into the south plaza where they pranced back and forth several times, singing. Then they went to one of the two sacred stones—Aiwana, which stands for the armed warrior gods who protect the pueblo—addressed several songs to it as they danced around it counterclockwise. Then they left the plaza via the southwest corner

About noon the dancers came out of the Wren kiva—this is the kiva always used because it is the larger—and, accompanied by their singers, drummer, and the man carrying the actitcomi, made their way to the front of the church where they danced three times; all subsequent dances were held in the south plaza in front of the saint's house. The costumes for this dance are standard and uniform throughout the eastern Keresan pueblos. Male dancers wear a white kilt, sash and moccasins; a foxskin hanging from the belt in the rear, a bunch of parrot feathers on top of the head, armbands at the biceps, a bandoleer of small hoofs slung from one shoulder, sleigh bells below the knees; they carry a gourd rattle in the right hand, a sprig of evergreen in the left. Female dancers wear the old style sleeveless dress, leaving the left shoulder bare, the wooden headpiece, or tablita, and are barefoot. All dancers who have long hair have it hanging freely down the back. If the Koshairi are in charge, each dancer has two tail feathers of the mourning dove—the "badge" of the Koshairi—tied to his hair on the right side of the head; if the Kwiraina are in charge, their badge, two sparrow hawk feathers, is worn. The singers, drummer, and pole carrier wear pajama-type trousers, bright-colored shirts (homemade or bought at stores), moccasins, and headbands of brightly colored silk. A good photograph of these dancers (at Santo Domingo) may be found in Kidder (1924, pl. 17b). A photograph of this dance at Santo Domingo, taken by C. F. Lummis in 1888, has been reproduced in Densmore (1938, pl. ix). See White (1935, pls. 5 and 6) for five photographs of the Santo Domingo dance in 1918, and Lange (1959, pls. 22 and 23) for the ceremony in Cochiti.

In other Keresan pueblos of the Rio Grande region, two groups of dancers and singers, one from each kiva, perform, dancing alternately. But at Sia, because of the small population, especially in the past, they have only one dance group. The dancers come out five times, "one for each drum." Each time they come out they dance to three songs; "other pueblos dance two songs," according to one informant. The Koshairi, or Kwiraina, and some of the "small officers", i.e., the assistants of the governor or the War chief, keep a close watch on the spectators to make sure that no one takes photographs or makes sketches of the performers—or, indeed, of anything.

On August 15, 1957, it rained quite hard in the midafternoon while the dance was in progress; it continued without interruption. During the intermission the rain stopped and the sun came out. When the dancers and singers returned to the plaza the males among the former had, with one or two exceptions, removed their moccasins; virtually all the singers kept theirs on, however. Almost all the paint had been washed off the bodies of the dancers; the Koshairi had been washed clean except for a few traces of the black stripes. At first, when the dance began, there was some laughing among the dancers and a few remarks were made; they seemed a bit self-conscious. This soon passed, however, and they settled down again to the serious business of dancing which then proceeded with much spirit. After all, it is rain that every pueblo Indian prays—and dances—for.

The dance ended when the third song of the fifth series had been concluded. The dancers formed two parallel lines, facing each other, in front of the saint's house. The drummer took up a position in front of the house of the saint, on the east side of the door. Four men held the canopy for the saint, waiting for the procession to start. For a few minutes nothing took place at all; it was as if they were waiting for something, but if so I never discovered what it was. The head of the Koshairi was in charge. Koshairi No. 2 and the pole carrier stood at the end of the west line of dancers, away from the saint's house. The head Koshairi had some difficulty getting Koshairi No. 3, who was just a boy with short hair and so had to wear the crown of a felt hat to sustain his tassels of cornhusk, to take his place beside Koshairi No. 2. Head Koshairi made a number of remarks, most of which provoked laughter among the Indian onlookers. While this was going on an Indian, and I am sure he was a non-Sia, came up to the head Koshairi, broke off a few little twigs of the evergreen he was wearing, drew the sacred breath (ianyi) from them, and departed with them.

At last the saint, again carried by women, emerged from her house and the procession back to the church began. The drummer rolled his drum, the church bell was rung, and the guards fired their guns from time to time. The dancers and the Koshairi knelt and held their hands together in the devotional attitude of Christians at prayer as the saint made her way between the two lines and on into the north plaza and then into the church. Mexican women, some Indians, and a few tourists formed the procession.

As soon as the saint left the plaza the dancers got to their feet and broke ranks. It looked for a moment as if they were going to leave the plaza, but the singers formed their group, began a song, and started to leave the plaza. The dancers followed in two parallel lines, but instead of alternating male with female there were several men, then several women.

Dancers and singers went to the Wren kiva and ascended to its roof. The women sat on the evergreen which they had held in their hands during the dance, on the rim of the kiva. The singers sat on the south side of the kiva. The pole carrier and the three Koshairi—and perhaps one or two others—stood in the middle of the roof (pl. 1 in White, 1935, has a good photograph of fiesta dancers on top of a kiva in Santo Domingo). Men went around removing tablitas and feathers from the women's heads. Some of the male dancers went to singers and stooped over so that the singers could remove the feathers from their heads, after which they descended into the kiva to remove their costumes. Five young men, each carrying a drum, went up on top of the kiva, and a group seemed to form around them and the Koshairi. I could not see what took place, of course, but I strongly suspect that the ritual of the drums which I once witnessed at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, pp. 271–272) was being performed.

Finally the proceedings were over and the people were dismissed. The rest of this paragraph consists of data I obtained after the dance from an informant. Indians from other pueblos who had taken part in the dance were dismissed first. In 1957 about 20 such Indians participated: one from Cochiti, one from Sandia, several from Jemez, and possibly some from other pueblos; there were more women visitors than men. The head Koshairi spoke first: "it is like a poem." Then Masewi spoke. A person chosen by the visitors responded, "giving thanks for the dance." Then the Sia were dismissed. The actitcomi (the "pole") was taken by the Koshairi to their house; the drums were returned to their respective owners.

The fiesta for the patron saint at Sia is a good example of the amalgamation of elements of Catholicism and Indian religion that is characteristic of all Keresan pueblos (see p. 65 et seq.). The Blessed Virgin has become a spirit (maiyanyi) from whom ianyi ("blessing") may be obtained. The Koshairi or Kwiraina are in charge. Bocaiyanyi and Santiago are pagan spirits at Sia as they are at Santa Ana (see White, 1942 a, pp. 61–62). Prayers are offered to the warrior gods represented by the stone in the south plaza. And, as is the case with so many pueblo ceremonies, the principal object is to obtain rain—and well-being in general.

## FEASTS FOR OTHER SAINTS

Other saints' days may be celebrated, also, such as San Juan, San Pedro, or Santiago. They usually have a rooster pull (gallo) on these occasions. This is accompanied by visitations of the people to houses of persons who bear the name of the saint whose day is being celebrated; here his relatives throw food, dishes, candy, tobacco, clothing, etc., from the housetop to the crowd below, who scramble for the prizes; the lucky ones get ianyi as well as the prize (see White, 1942 a, pp. 255–256 for a description of these rituals at Santa Ana which are exactly like those at Sia).

### GALLO, OR ROOSTER PULL

Gallo, or rooster pull, is performed in all the Keresan pueblos—at Jemez, Isleta, and undoubtedly other pueblos; Parsons (1939, p. 1108) says that it is found among the Papago. It may be witnessed by anyone. It has been described more or less fully by many observers, yet it is still but little understood. I believe ethnographers have been inclined to neglect it for two reasons. First, because much of it seems to be carried out in a frivolous, recreational manner, which suggest that it is not very important. And, second, because it contains so many Spanish-Catholic elements they have tended to dismiss it as a rather inconsequential "Mexicanism." Enough is known about it, however, to make it clear that it is a serious, and even important, religious event. The conceptions of which the rituals are an expression have been most fully set forth, I believe, in my account for Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, pp. 263–267). Other accounts may be found in Bourke (1884, p. 51); Poore (1894, p. 439); White (1935, pp. 155–158); Lange (1959, passim); and Parsons (1925, p. 95).

After this preface, the reader may be disappointed not to find an exhaustive and illuminating account of this ceremony at Sia. As a matter of fact, I did not study the gallo ritual at Sia at all, although I witnessed it upon two or three occasions. These observations, plus brief discussions with informants, led me to conclude—reasonably, I believe—that it was essentially like the ceremony at Santa Ana. I therefore devoted my time with informants to other matters. I did, however, observe one ritual which I had not known about before; I will add it to the following brief characterization of the gallo ceremony in general.

The rooster pull is associated with Santiago, who is an important maiyanyi (beneficent supernatural being) among the Keres. The principal features of the ceremony are as follows: a rooster is buried in the sand with only his head and neck protruding; horsemen gallop by the rooster, one by one, until a rider succeeds in snatching him by the neck and pulling him out of the sand; a fight among the horsemen ensues in which the man who holds the rooster strikes other riders with it; he also uses it as a quirt to whip his horse; when another rider succeeds in grabbing the rooster a tussle for its possession follows.

All of this takes place at a mad gallop over the plain. Eventually the rooster is torn to pieces, and horses and riders become smeared with blood and feathers. The ceremony helps to bring rain: (1) "Rooster blood is good for rain"; and (2) the lather on the horses is like clouds and the foam on a torrential arroyo. The ceremony promotes the fertility, and the welfare in general, of horses.

Gallo is always held on a saint's day, usually in the summer, but also in late spring or early fall. The War chief has charge, and the fiscales officiate. It is sometimes associated with the throwing of presents from the rooftops of households where someone, named for the saint whose day is being celebrated, lives.

In the summer of 1952, I witnessed the concluding ritual of the rooster pull ceremony which I had not known about before. Some time after all the roosters had been used, and after the War chief, fiscale mayor (and perhaps the governor) had talked about it and dismissed the participants, each horseman, dressed only in breechcloth and riding his horse bareback, galloped through the village stopping at houses where a Santiago (or other saint's namesake) lived, where women threw water upon both horse and rider: they had the water ready in tubs into which they dipped buckets or pans and threw the water with great gusto. Great good humor and pleasure were expressed by all concerned.

## CHRISTMAS

The birth of Christ is celebrated at midnight on December 24. A Catholic service is performed by the sacristan (a Catholic priest performs Mass at this time at some other Keresan pueblos). After the service a dance—a war, Comanche, or other dance that non-Indians are allowed to witness—is held in the church. Four days of dancing follow; various dances may be given and the repertoire is easily varied. The pueblo holds open house during this time. I have seen many Navaho at Sia at Christmastime. Spanish- and Anglo-Americans are welcome and some always come (see White, 1942 a, pp. 267–72).

In 1938 I visited Sia at Christmastime. Figure 40 indicates the arrangements in the church at the time. *A* was a small house in which a bearded figure of Christ lay in bed, his head toward the altar. The Blessed Virgin, wearing a crown and many strings of beads, stood at his head, facing east. These two figures were surrounded by trays and shallow baskets of little clay figures of domestic animals (such as I have described and illustrated for Santa Ana; White, 1942 a, p. 268). Candles and incense were burning; there was a large abalone shell half-full of coins.

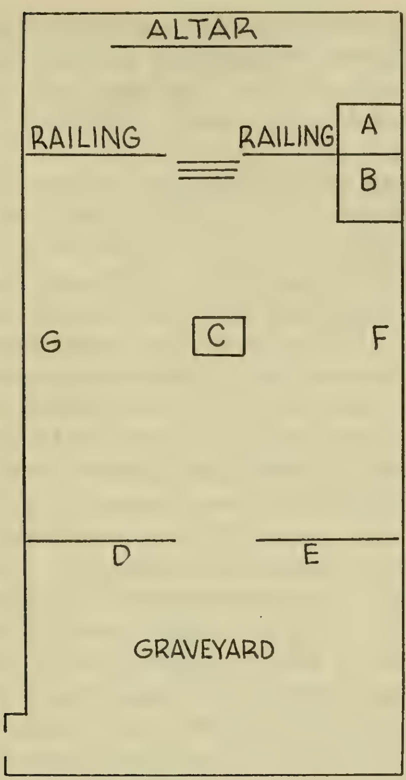

FIGURE 40.—The church at Christmas.

There was another house at *B*. In it were figures of the Virgin Mary, the Christ child, the three kings, asses, and camels. I was told that the Catholic priests at Jemez had given these figures to Sia.

The area *C* was about 3 feet wide and 7 feet long on the bare floor of the church (there are no pews or benches in the church). It appeared to be a hole which had been dug in the earthen floor and then filled. I was unable to ascertain the significance of this.

Two horses had been painted by Indian artists on the inside wall of the church at *F*; one, at *G*. Large paintings of horses, one black, the other buckskin, were high on the outside wall at *D* and *E*.

## EQUESTRIAN IMPERSONATIONS: BOCAIYANYI AND SANTIAGO

Sia, like other Keresan pueblos in the Rio Grande region, impersonates supernatural beings—Bocaiyanyi and Santiago—on horseback (see White, 1942 b). We have already met Bocaiyanyi in our discussion of cosmology (p. 114). "Bocaiyanyi is his Indian name; Montezuma, his Mexican name," said an informant; "his home is in

Mexico." Santiago is a Spanish Catholic saint who has become an important figure in Keresan mythology (cf. White, 1942 a, pp. 256–57). But both Bocaiyanyi and Santiago have become, and are, maiyanyi (supernatural beings), along with Spider Grandmother and Whirlwind Old Man.

The impersonation consists of a man who wears a costume in imitation of a horse (see fig. 1, in White, 1942 b, an excellent sketch of a dancer at San Felipe drawn by a white artist; fig. 42 in White, 1935, is a fine sketch of San Geronimo at Santo Domingo by an Indian artist). The rump of the horse is made of a huge root of a plant called Gàcace ("something big"), or bush morning-glory (White, 1945, p. 559). The head and neck of the horse are covered with real horse hide and hair; mane and tail are of real horsehair. This little horse has no legs, but this fact is all but concealed by a sheet which falls almost to the ground all around the horse's body; the moccasined feet of the impersonator can be seen, however. The horse has bridle and reins, but, of course, no saddle. It is supported by being fastened to the rider's body so that his arms are free. The rider carries a quirt in his right hand and holds the reins in his left.

In 1910, according to my 1941 notes, Sia had only one horse, a white one. About 1917 a second horse, a black one, was acquired, but whether it was made in Sia or obtained from another pueblo my notes do not say; my guess is that it was made in Sia. My 1957 notes say that Sia then had two horses, one white, the other a buckskin. According to my 1941 data, the horses are kept by the Koshairi and "only Koshairi are supposed to ride them." My 1957 notes state that the white horse was "owned" by a man who was then the head of the Giant society, but not a Koshairi; the buckskin was owned by J. M., a member of the Fire society but not a Koshairi. J. M. was said to be the horse's "father" because he was with him when the horse was baptized in the church; the priest blessed the horse. But, say my 1957 notes, these horses may be ridden only by two men who are not the horses' owners or "fathers"; why they have this right was not learned. If, however, they should find themselves unable to perform because of illness they could appoint others to take their places. My 1957 informant stated further that the white horse belongs to the Cochiti washpa clan; the buckskin, to Coyote clan, "but is ridden by Sia washpa clan." There seems to be confusion, and possibly error, here, but, on the basis of data from other Keresan pueblos as well as from Sia, we may safely say that: (1) the horses are sacred objects; they are undoubtedly animated, "given life," by medicinemen or priests, as are drums and corn-ear fetishes; and (2) riding them is both a right and a duty that can be performed only by certain specified persons.

The horses may appear on various occasions: at Christmas time, Santiago's day (July 25), on August 15 at the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, or possibly at some other time; they usually come on August 15, however. The War chief or the governor can request them to come. My notes do not say whether or not an individual could initiate their appearance as a consequence of a vow, but we may be sure that if this is possible he would have to obtain permission of the War chief.

As I have already noted, the little horses may lead the procession in which the image of the Blessed Virgin is carried into the plaza on August 15. If they perform on Santiago's day, however, they emerge from a house near one of the plazas from time to time and dance and then retire to their house.

When the horses come out they prance about like real horses, such as in the procession for the Blessed Virgin. But when they come by themselves, they dance as well as prance. They are accompanied by a drummer who beats the non-Indian type drum such as the kahera uses when the image of the Blessed Virgin is carried out of the church on August 15. The horses dance to the drumbeat only; there is no singing.

The horses are accompanied by a masked personage called Tcapiyo. I do not know the etymology of this word, but it probably is not Indian since the character is not Indian: he talks Spanish and is definitely associated with Spaniards and Mexico. In mythology he is identified with Naotsityi, the white mother of White people. But he is said to be a shiwana (an aboriginal, anthropomorphic rainmaking spirit): "the Tcapiyo mask came from heaven," an informant said, "Tcapiyo is a shiwana from heaven belonging to Naotsityi." The Tcapiyo mask belongs to the Koshairi and he is impersonated by a member of this society (see White, 1942 a, fig. 24, for a sketch of this character, and note 91, p. 259, for a description of, and other data on, this personage at Santa Ana; Sia custom is undoubtedly close to Santa Ana at this point). Tcapiyo is the only masked personage that White people are permitted to see in any of the eastern Keresan pueblos as far as I know.

The riders of horses were invariably called Bocaiyanyi in Sia, just as my Santa Ana informant tended always to call them Santiago. "Bocaiyanyi is the father of horses and cattle." When they come on Santiago's day they go to the community corral where they sprinkle the stock that have been brought there for this purpose (see White, 1942 a, pp. 260–61, for a description of this ritual which I witnessed in Santa Ana). The War chief takes a few hairs from the mane or tail of the horse and buries them in the corral. Then Bocaiyanyi dances on them. "This puts his breath ('tsats', i.e., soul) in the corral and makes the livestock more fertile."

Spectators may offer gifts to Bocaiyanyi and Santiago during their performance in the plaza; food is the usual offering, but tobacco or candy—especially chocolate "because Bocaiyanyi came from Mexico"—may be given also. Sometimes a man will request permission of Koshairi to let his little son or grandson ride one of the horses, and this permission is invariably given. The man will put the little boy on the horse behind the rider for a brief time: "this is to make the boy a good rider when he grows up and so that he will own lots of horses." The father, or grandfather, gives Bocaiyanyi a gift for this privilege. The impersonators of Bocaiyanyi and Santiago take portions of the gifts they receive and "bury them somewhere" after the ceremony is over.

I deliberately did not try to obtain a full and detailed account of these impersonations because I had published a full account for the Santa Ana ceremony and according to my observations and to my informants' statements, Sia practice is essentially like that of Santa Ana.

In native conception, Bocaiyanyi and Santiago are maiyanyi, i.e., supernatural beings proper to the Indian religion despite the fact that they are of Spanish Catholic derivation (the pagan character of these characters was demonstrated at Santa Ana where the Catholic priest refused to allow them to enter the church because they *were* pagan; White, 1942 a, pp. 61–62). They take part in the feast for the Blessed Virgin because, apparently, of their Spanish Catholic derivation. But the principal function of these horses and riders is to bestow beneficent supernatural power (iyanyi) upon horses, especially, but also upon cattle.

## HOLY WEEK; EASTER

The Sia always call this by its Spanish name, Semana Santo.

There are two ways of celebrating Holy Week. In one, the men of the pueblo bring their weapons—bows, arrows, shields, spears, and firearms—to the church and place them, upside down, against the wall, outside the church, on both sides of the door; an inverted spear is placed on either side of the door. The owners of the weapons "stand guard" in front of the church from morning to sunset. There is an image of Christ on the cross, covered with a black cloth, in front of the altar. Just in front of the altar, two men, one on each side of the steps leading up to the altar, stand guard, each holding a spear, upside down; they are crossed, forming an X. The guards are "to prevent the hulíyo (Judeo, i.e., Jews) from harming Jesus."

Church services are held on Thursday and Friday, conducted by the sacristan; prayers and rosaries are said in Spanish. During this time the church bell is not rung. Instead, the people are summoned, by one of the capitani, to the services by means of a device called ica'ak$^a$ (wooden) ockaits (rattle). This is a board on each side of which three little pieces of wood are attached with buckskin strings so that when the board is shaken the pieces strike the board, making a noise (fig. 41; cf. White, 1942 a, p. 276). I understood the informant to say that the Catholic priest wanted to obtain possession of this device (to deprive the Indians of it?), but that the Sia would not permit him to do so; it is kept by the sacristan.

On Thursday and Friday the men in front of the church play games. One is Wolf and Sheep. A potsherd, representing the sheep, and little pieces of wood representing wolves, are moved about on a diagram (fig. 42) according to rules which were not ascertained. This game is essentially the same as the Jackrabbit game at Santa Clara as described by Culin (1907, pp. 797–798, fig. 1103) and the Coyote and Chickens game among the Pima (ibid., p. 794, fig. 1091). Another game is called Star, which is essentially like the game of the same name at Santa Clara (ibid., p. 798) and among the Papago (ibid., p. 794). One of the games played by Tiamunyi and Poshaiyanne (Bocaiyanyi), wash-kasi, described in the myth recorded by Stevenson (1894, p. 60) may be played, also.

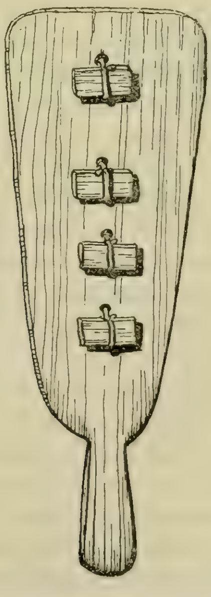

FIGURE 41.—Wooden rattle used in Holy Week.

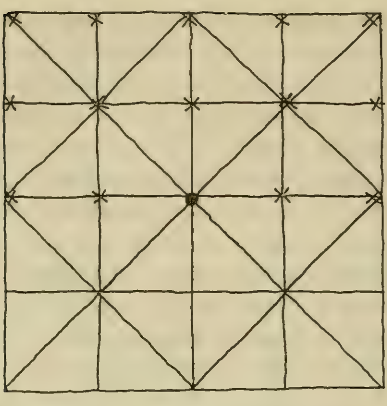

FIGURE 42.—Wolf and sheep game.

On Saturday morning everyone goes to church about 10 a.m. The men bring their weapons as before and place them upside down. The services, conducted by the sacristan, consist of prayers and 10 rosaries said in Spanish. Then they begin to sing. At the beginning of the first song the weapons and shields are quickly turned right side up. The black cloth is removed from the image of Christ. Young men, outside the church by the door, fire guns (as they do when the image of the Blessed Virgin is carried out of the church on August 15). The kahera rolls his drum. "This opens the way for Jesus to go to Heaven."

The other way of celebrating Holy Week is like the one just described except that instead of the games they have a masked kachina dance. I shall now describe this procedure.

Fiscale mayor tells Tiamunyi a month in advance that he wants to have the shiwana (katsina) come. At the same time he asks the head of the society, which owns the masks of the katsina he wants to have used in the dance, to make preparations for the occasion; sometimes fiscale will ask two societies to bring their shiwana. If the head of a society does not have enough men to dance, he asks War chief to recruit more dancers. The members of the society, or societies, together with all men who are to wear the masks, vomit and observe sexual continence for 4 days before Holy Thursday. During these 4 days the dancers practice songs and dances each evening. The dances will take place on Thursday and Friday.

Early on Thursday morning fiscale summons everyone to church except the men who are to take part in the dance; they remain in the ceremonial house of the society in charge. Other men bring their weapons and shields to church as before described. Tiamunyi goes to the church, but comes right out again and goes to the hotcanitsa. Masewi decides when the dancing shall begin. He leads the dancers from their house to the plaza where they are greeted by Tiamunyi. Fiscale and the sacristan tell Tiamunyi when to have an intermission for lunch and when to end the dance in the afternoon, about an hour before sunset. "The dance is for the church."

The dance is repeated on Good Friday, at the conclusion of which the dancers are dimissed and allowed to return to their homes.

After the church services on Saturday morning, the War chief announces that there will be 4 days of dancing beginning with Easter Sunday. The women go home, but the men wait in front of the church until the War chief and the head of the Flint society excuse them. Then the men take their weapons and go home.

After the service on Easter Sunday morning the War chief again announces that there will be 4 days of dancing; he and other officers have decided on the previous night what dance, or dances, they will have, and preparations are made accordingly. "They usually have a Comanche dance, Aiyataikoye (a round dance), or Hininiya (a round dance with men and women something like Owɛ)." Sometimes young men and boys dance without women. But the 4 days of dancing always conclude with the howina'yɛ ("corn dance," such as is performed at the feast for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin), but without the actitco'mi (the pole, or standard, carried in the dance on August 15).

I am not sure whether they have 4 days of dancing if a masked dance is given; I believe they may or may not as they wish.

# SICKNESS AND TREATMENT

The philosophy of sickness and treatment at Sia, as well as at other Keresan pueblos, is not complete, comprehensive, and explicit by any means. Conceptions of illness and of means of treating it appear to range from the almost wholly nonsupernatural, at one end of a spectrum, to the wholly supernatural at the other end. Sometimes people "just get sick, maybe from something they ate." But illness caused by witches is, of course, a wholly supernaturalistic affair. Minor illnesses may not be attributed to supernaturalistic causation, at least explicitly. But the entire life of the Sias is so permeated by supernaturalism that one may well doubt that it is ever wholly absent. If a minor illness, such as a cough or a stomach disorder, stubbornly persists, it is very likely to be interpreted as due to supernatural causes.

## CLASSES OF ILLNESS

The Sias distinguish classes of ailments for each of which they recognize proper methods of treatment. And, in general, "a sickness or a disease tests your strength; if you [are treated and] get well you will be stronger afterwards." The following classes are distinguished.

### MATTER OF FACT

As we have just noted, some illnesses and deaths are not attributed to supernatural causes and supernatural means are not required to treat the illnesses. It is recognized and accepted that people are subject to ailments of various kinds, and, it is believed, the use of various materials will effectively treat, or cure, these ailments.

Thus, to treat trachoma, or sore eyes in general, one bathes the eyes in water in which obsidian (h'a·ᴅi) and the root of a plant that has a star-shaped flower and is called cιkιᴅá (star) wawa (medicine), both ground fine, have been soaked. A tea made of mint (tsιtísi; *Mentha canadensis*) is drunk to cure fevers. An unidentified plant called Dáip$^{u}$, by the Sias, pagé, by their Spanish American neighbors at San Ysidro, is used to treat stomach disorders (a specimen of this plant was deposited in the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, cat. No. 23894). A medicine made of the root of the bush morning-glory (*Ipomoea leptophylla*), gacacɛ, is used to promote the fertility of horses and the growth of colts; it is ground and mixed with their drinking water. Women drink juniper tea after childbirth, as we have seen (p. 200).

"The best way to treat a mad [rabid] dog is to open a small vein and bleed him; dip him in the river until he quiets down. Or shoot him."

There is a great deal of lore and technique of this sort at Sia. The degree of uniformity of belief and practice in this area was not ascertained. The characteristics of this category of ailment-and-treatment are: (1) anyone may have the knowledge and use the techniques; and (2) the practice is nonritualistic in nature; that is, one proceeds as if the therapeutic values were inherent in the medicines and techniques employed. In short, it is folk medicine as distinguished from the professional practices of medicinemen.

### STERILITY

This must be treated by a medicine man, or medicine society, as we have already seen ("Conception by Magic," p. 199).

### WOUNDS IN WARFARE

Wounds in warfare must be treated professionally. Even intimate contact with a slain enemy places a man in "a dangerous condition" from which he can be extricated only by the performance of a ceremony, as we have seen (p. 259). Wounds from arrows or firearms were treated by the Flint society (which, among the Keres, is closely associated with warfare and with scalps; see White, 1942 a, p. 305, for references to comparative data).

### LIGHTNING SHOCK

Lightning shock, also, must be treated professionally, and it is the Flint society that officiates. At Acoma (White, 1932 a, p. 107) and at Laguna (Parsons, 1918, n. 2, p. 108; Boas, 1928, pp. 290–291), lightning shock was treated by special shiwana ("cloud people," as Stevenson called them) tcaiyanyi (medicinemen).

### SNAKE BITE

Snake bite must be treated by doctors of the Snake society (see p.158). "People who have been wounded in war, struck by lightning, or bitten by a snake should not be seen by anyone except medicinemen for four days" after the event.

### BURNS

Burns are treated by the Fire society.

### ANTS

Ants may cause illness, usually sore throat or body sores: "I was very ill with smallpox caused by angry ants," an informant told Mrs.

Stevenson (1894, p. 86). Ants enter the body to produce illness. Apparently, their principal, or only, way of doing this is to ascend the stream of urine when one is urinating on an ant hill. Cure consists of removing the ants. Body sores are treated by placing upon them a poultice of si·'i (ant) wawa (medicine), made from the leaves of an unidentified plant. Extraction of ants from the body is effected ceremonially by the Shima (sometimes called Ant) society, assisted by the Flint society. I did not obtain details of this ceremony. The head of the Ant society drew a sketch for Mrs. Stevenson of the sand painting used in their curing ceremony (1894, fig. 18 and pp. 103–104), but a curing ceremony which she witnessed in which ants were extracted, was performed not by the Ant but by the Giant society (ibid., p. 100). The ants were drawn magically to the surface of the patient's body and then brushed off with plumes and straws: ". . . as the plumes and straws were moved down the boy's body ants in any quantity were supposed to be brushed off the body, while in reality tiny pebbles were dropped upon the blanket; but the conjuration was so perfect the writer could not tell how or whence they were dropped, although she stood close to the group and under a bright light . . ." (ibid.).

### MENTAL MALADIES

Psychological illnesses are recognized as such by the Sia. They are regarded as supernaturalistic ailments and accordingly must be treated by tcaiyanyi. If a person has "bad dreams" repeatedly he may seek treatment from a medicine society or ask to be admitted to membership in it. The man who had smallpox caused by ants, cited above, also dreamed about snakes, "many snakes, very many, and all the next day I thought about it, and I knew if I did not see the honaaite [head] of the Snake Society and tell him I wished to become a member of that body I would die" (Stevenson, 1894, p. 86).

I was told of a woman who had fits repeatedly. During a seizure she was so violent that it took the strength of two or more people to hold and restrain her. Finally she decided, whether of her own initiative or at the suggestion of another person my informant did not know, to offer herself to the Flint society. She was accepted and initiated, and, it was said, was much improved if not cured as a consequence.

Prolonged periods of anxiety or melancholy may induce a person to seek the aid of, or petition for membership in, one of the societies.

Severe mental illness is very rare in Sia, according to Government physicians and nurses as well as my informants. I learned of one case, however, that was so severe that it resulted in commitment to a hospital for mental and nervous diseases. I became acquainted with the man in question during the latter part of my study. He was born about 1921; I do not know when he was committed. His family, and perhaps others, raised strenuous objection to his being sent away to a hospital, and after a time he was returned to Sia. I talked with him on a few occasions; usually he was intoxicated at the time. He spoke English fluently but incoherently. Up to 1957 he had never been appointed to a pueblo office, or become a member of a society, although he was said to have been a "helper" to the Kwiraina society at one time, which may indicate that he had been treated by them. He had not married. He would take part in a dance occasionally, "but he might quit in the middle of it if he felt like it." He was not considered dangerous by the community, nor was he looked down upon or ridiculed. He was suspected by some of having set fire to the kiva that burned in 1946 or 1947.

## WITCHCRAFT

The principal cause of serious illness at Sia, as well as all other Keresan pueblos, was, unquestionably in my judgment, witchcraft. I say "was" because I believe the belief has declined considerably in recent years, especially since World War II.

Some people are born with two hearts: one good, one bad. As a consequence of the evil heart they are possessed with a desire to kill people or make them seriously ill; they may also cause droughts or send plagues of insects to destroy crops. These people are kanaᴅyaiya, a word that is always translated "witch" in English; bruja, in Spanish. Witches are said to have traffic with evil, but unspecified, spirits. They are associated with owls and crows, and are able to transform themselves into coyotes, burros, or rats. They are sometimes referred to as yo·wisa, 'left-handed.' Witches may live in your own pueblo—or even in your own household—or in neighboring communities, Indian or Mexican. Anglo-Americans *could* be witches, also, but I have never heard of anyone being so accused except in one instance: myself.

Once, in the early stages of this study, I was working with an elderly male Sia. He spent much of his time in sheep camps and was relatively unsophisticated in terms of Sia norms. In the course of our conversation I introduced a Keresan religious term; it could have been Kᴏʙictaiya. My informant looked both startled and uneasy. He then accused me of being kanadyaiya because I knew such words. After some discussion he unbuttoned his shirt at the throat and took out a slender chipped flint (chert ?) blade about 4 inches long which was tied to a string around his neck. "This will tell me whether you are kanadyaiya or not; I am going to ask it tonight." The next morning he came to my room. "Well, what did it tell you?" I asked. "No, you are not kanadyaiya," he said, "but you must be some kind of tcaiyanyi-man." This took me out of the evil supernaturalistic context, but still left me with supernatural endowments. He continued to call me, in a half-jocular way, tcaiyanyi-man for some time.

Witches cause people to sicken by magically injecting objects such as thorns, sticks, broken glass, and live snakes into the victim's body. Or, they may "steal someone's heart." The foreign objects must be removed, or the stolen heart restored, or the victim will die. And only the medicine societies have the power to do this. If someone surprises a witch in an act of his evil art, the witch will try to bribe his discoverer not to tell; if the discoverer refuses to accept the bribe the witch will die (Hoebel, 1952). At the communal curing ceremony medicinemen engage in actual bodily combat with witches. Sometimes a witch is in the form of a rat or a little figure of a witch (see fig. 37, p 322, in White, 1942 a, for an informant's sketch of a witch; it is wearing feathers of the owl and the woodpecker).

Most of my Sia informants were loathe to discuss witchcraft and some denied that it was still practiced, or that people still believed in it. Others, however, readily admitted that it had been practiced in the past and stated that "some people died." Informants at Santo Domingo and Santa Ana told me that they knew, or had heard, of people being killed at Sia as witches (Indians are much more willing to admit executions for witchcraft at other pueblos than at their own). Elderly Sia informants said that there "was a lot of trouble in Sia after Mrs. Stevenson left, and some people died." According to Bandelier (1890, p. 35), "certain pueblos, like Nambé, Santa Clara, and Cia owe their decline to the constant inter-killing going on for supposed evil practices of witchcraft." And in a journal entry dated June 21, 1886, he recorded that "some five or six years before, two witches were killed at Zia 'in a quiet way. They did not use poison, but clubbed them to death' " (quoted by Lange, 1959, p. 254).

Belief in witchcraft may be, and undoubtedly has been, used by the Sia as a means of injuring some member of the community. Hoebel's informant "clearly recognized . . . the possibilities of exploiting fear of witches as an instrument of aggression" (Hoebel, 1952, p. 588). If a man had a grievance against a person, or did not like him, he could accuse him of witchcraft and "lots of people will believe me. Who can prove different? I think that is the way it happens. . . ." (ibid.).

Medicine men and societies have the power to cure sickness and to oppose and kill witches, but only by virtue of power which they receive from animal doctors. The greatest of these appears to be the bear, and medicinemen wear bear-claw necklaces and the skins of the forelegs of bears on their arms when they treat patients. The badger, also, is a great medicineman "because he digs in the ground and knows roots [medicines]." The eagle, snake, and shrew, also, are doctors. Effigies of these animal doctors are placed upon the meal paintings of curing societies, before their altars, or sketches of them may be drawn on altars, bowls, or sand paintings. The Indian medicinemen obtain power from the supernatural animal doctors by means of song; it is used by means of paraphernalia and ritual.

## KINDS OF CURING CEREMONIES

There are three kinds of curing ceremonies performed by medicine men or societies: (1) aíctyuwa'anyi 'clearing away'; (2) wikacanyi; one informant defined this simply as 'doctoring'; another said it meant "to clean up someone who is dirty or filthy"; sometimes it is called sɛnamakotsamatsa wikacanyi, 'half-night doctoring'; and (3) tsínaoᴅa'nyi wikacanyi, 'all the way doctoring,' "to clean thoroughly inside, the heart and intestines, as well as outside"; "to purify one's heart"; to save one "when he has given himself up and lost the desire to live."

The aictyuwanyi is a simple ritual designed, apparently, merely to purify and strengthen a patient. The wikacanyi is a much more important ceremony and does much more. But the wikacanyi and tsinaodanyi ceremony is the fullest and most serious ceremony of all. The ordinary wikacanyi ceremony "just treats your body," according to one informant; "the tsinaodanyi wikacanyi treats his heart, his soul and his mind."

Obviously the first of these three kinds of ceremony is for the least severe illnesses; the last, for the most grave and serious. The sick person himself, if he is old enough, can decide which kind of ceremony he wants to have. He would unquestionably have to consult with his family before asking for the tsinaodanyi wikacanyi, though, because so much is involved in the way of preparations and payments to the doctors. If the patient is too young to decide which kind of ceremony should be asked for, his parents will make the decision. One informant said that the decision in any case was based upon dreams: of the patient if he is old enough to discuss them; of the parents of the sick one if the latter is too young to talk about them.

### AICTYUWANYI

The sick one, or his parents, may summon a medicineman upon their own initiative; they do not need to have a meeting of close relatives to discuss the matter and make the decision. Neither does the War captain have to be notified and his permission obtained. One simply takes prayer cornmeal (petana) in his hand or wrapped in a cornhusk to the doctor of his choice and asks him for medical treatment. The doctor will go to the house of his patient in the evening, bringing his hícami (pair of eagle wing feathers), his bags of medicine, and a flint knife or arrow point. He will be dressed in the pajama-like costume such as is worn by the singers for the "corn dance"; he may or may not wear moccasins. If he arrives shod he will remove his moccasins before beginning his treatment. He does not bring his corn-ear fetish (iariko), but he does have a little stone figure (paiyatyamo). The doctor wears no face paint and does not let his hair down.

The medicineman sings a few songs, then examines the patient, feeling him here and there. He then treats him (precisely what this treatment consists of was not ascertained, unfortunately; whether he sucks out pathogenic objects or not was not learned, but I believe he does not). He uses his hícami to sweep away evil influences. At the conclusion of the curing ritual a member of the patient's family, or even the patient himself, gives the doctor a ceremonial cigarette and some food. These the doctor takes out of the house, making brushing and sweeping motions with his eagle feathers as he goes, and deposits them as an offering to the spirits who have helped him. When he returns he eats a supper that has been provided by a woman of the patient's household.

The doctor may visit the patient each night for four nights. He may come fewer times, however, depending upon the rapidity of the recovery. But in any event he may not come more than four times; if the patient has not recovered by this time, or if he has become worse, some other course of medical treatment will be considered. If the doctor visits his patient more than once he leaves his paraphernalia and some medicine with him each time until the final visit. The patient and his family are instructed in the way in which the medicine is to be taken or used. Sometimes the doctor himself will return to administer it, since some medicines are so powerful that they cannot be entrusted to a layman.

## WIKACANYI AND TSINAODANYI

If a sick person, or the family of one who is quite ill, desires to obtain either the wikacanyi or the tsinaodanyi type of treatment, an evening meeting of the close relatives—not merely his family or the members of his household—is held at which the matter is discussed and a decision reached. The next morning someone—the sick one himself if he is able to do so; if not, then one of his close male relatives—will go first to Tiamunyi and then to War chief, telling them that the relatives of so and so, who is ill, desire to have the wikacanyi or the tsinaodanyi curing ceremony, depending upon which type of treatment has been decided upon, for the sick person. If Tiamunyi and War chief give their permission for this ceremony, the close relatives of the sick one will have another meeting in the morning of the following day. At this time they will make up a packet of prayer meal in a cornhusk, upon which each relative will breathe his prayer, and one of the close male relatives will take it to the head of the society that has been chosen to perform the ceremony.

The head of the curing society assembles his members on the evening of the day on which he receives the petana. He distributes the meal among them and tells them who has requested their services and what kind of treatment they desire. If the society to which the request has been addressed does not have enough doctors to perform the ceremony properly, and many of the societies during recent years do not, the head will go to the nawai of another society and ask for helpers. They will be present when the society head distributes the prayer meal. The Flint, Giant, or Fire society would ask either one or both of the other two for assistance. The Snake society would ask Flint only. Kapina cannot ask any other society for help. More doctors are required for the tsinaodanyi treatment than for the wikacanyi; the former may require most, or even all, members of the Flint, Fire, and Giant societies.

On the morning after the packet of prayer meal has been distributed, the medicinemen begin to vomit. "They may soak some weeds in water, but they usually use plain, lukewarm water" for this purpose. They may engage in their regular occupations and may eat any kind of food, but they must observe sexual continence. This procedure is observed for 4 consecutive days. In the evening of each day the doctors meet in the ceremonial house of the society in charge where they sing and pray for the sick person. They do not visit their patient during this 4-day period unless he, or his close relatives, make a special request for them to come.

The curing ceremony reaches its climax, or culmination, on the evening of the fourth day. But there are differences of procedure among the curing societies: the Flint, Fire, Giant, and Snake societies have their patient brought into their ceremonial house and invite people to come in to witness the ceremony; Koshairi, Kwiraina, Gomaiyawic, and Kapina do not bring the patient into their house nor invite people to come in—instead, they go to the house of the patient, going back and forth from their ceremonial chamber perhaps several times during the evening.

On the evening of the fourth day the medicinemen gather in the ceremonial house of the society in charge. They erect their slat altar, lay down a meal painting, place their corn-ear and other fetishes in proper position, and lay out other items of paraphernalia, such as bear paws, eagle feathers, medicine bowls, and so on (figs. 43, 44, 45).

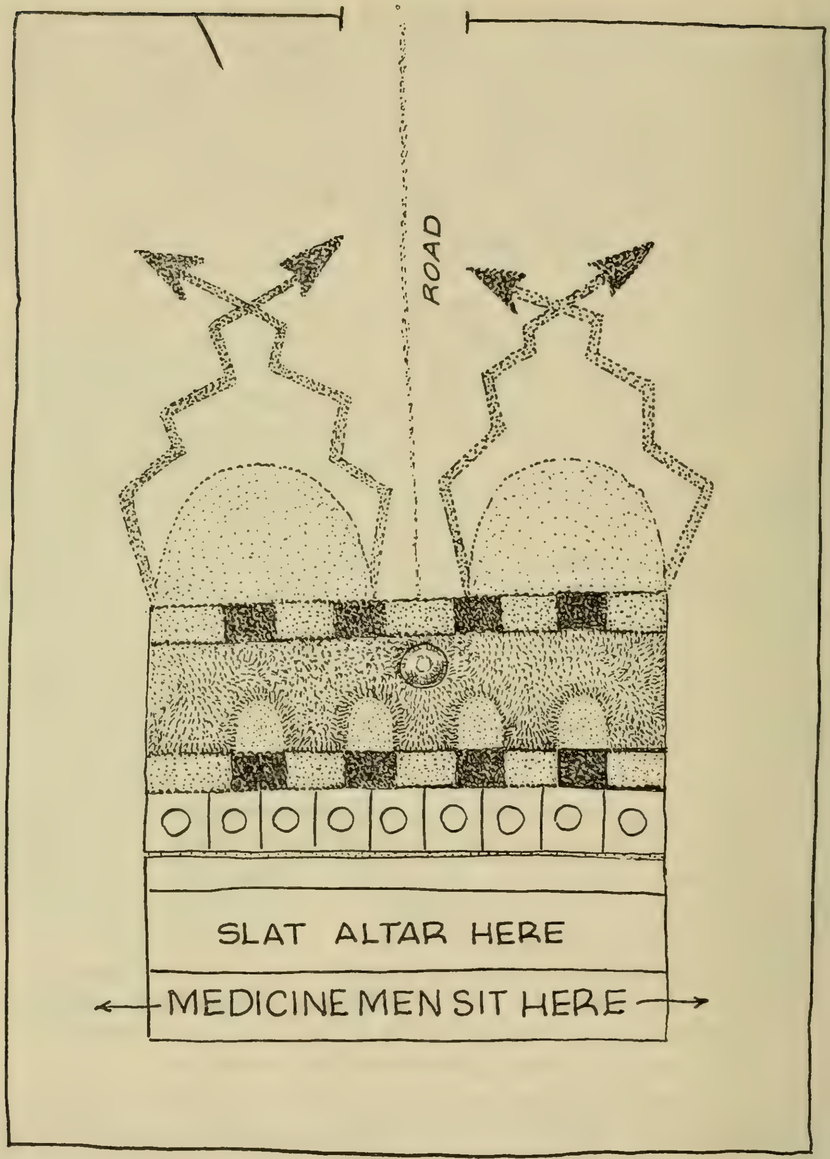

FIGURE 43.—Altar of the Flint society used in curing ceremony. Medicinemen sit behind their slat altar. In front of this is the sand painting with the iarikos (corn-ear fetishes), represented by the circles, at the rear of the painting; they are "sitting" on a bed of white cornmeal. In front of the iarikos is a band of alternating black and white sand. In front of this are four "clouds" made of white sand upon an area of spruce needles ground fine. A road of cornmeal runs from the door to a medicine bowl on the area of spruce needles. Then there is another band of alternating black and white rectangles. The two big clouds, at the top of the sketch, are made of white sand; the lightnings are white with black points.

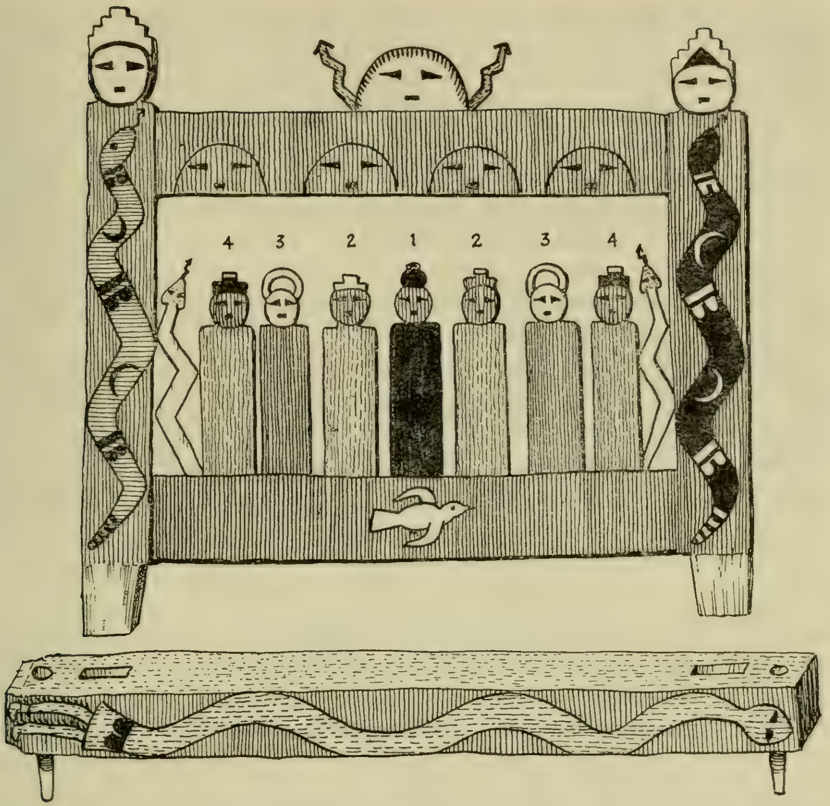

Figure 44.—Wooden slat altar (átcin$^{yi}$) of Flint society at Sia. Of the seven figures with faces, No. 1 has a black body, green face, with black bowl on head; Nos. 2 have yellow bodies, green faces; Nos. 3, green bodies, white faces, white rainbow above head; Nos. 4, yellow bodies, green faces. The two lightning snakes at each end of the row of figures have white bodies, blue faces, black eyes, red tongue. The face at the top, middle, is white with black eyes and mouth; the lightning on each side of this face is yellow, outlined in black, with black tips. All vertical shadings are green. The faces on top of the standard on each side are white, outlined in black, with black eyes and mouth. The snake on the standard on the left side is Ckatowɛ (snake of the north); its body is red with black designs. The snake on the right standard is G'ácʙana (snake of the west) and is black with white designs. The quarter moons on the snakes' bodies indicate "that it is going to rain." The bird is caicᴅʋtc, a mythical bird; it is white, outlined in black. The slat altar is set upright into the timber base which, in turn, is set into the floor. The snake figure with human legs on the base is Gacᴅyats (rainbow) Mīᴅɩ (boy); it is yellow with black designs. The altar is about 6 feet wide. It resembles, but yet is quite different from, the one pictured by Stevenson (1894, pl. xxii) for the Knife (Flint) society.

The doctors will be dressed like the Snake priest in figure 17, except that they do not wear the kilt; they wear only the breechcloth. When they are ready they notify the patient's family that they wish to have their supper. Close female relatives of the sick one bring food in, and the doctors eat. One or two doctors wrap scraps of food in a piece of paper bread (má·tsinyi) and take them outdoors "somewhere" and offer them, with prayers, to their spirit helpers. If any food remains it is distributed, first to the male, then to the female, members of the society. The women members are there merely as helpers, to bring water, and clean up afterward; they do not participate in the curing ritual itself.

After supper the medicinemen are ready for the patient, and either he is brought into the society's chamber or the doctors go to his house, depending on which society is in charge. If the patient is to be brought to the curing chamber two or three medicinemen go to fetch him. They carry him if he is not able to walk. The curing

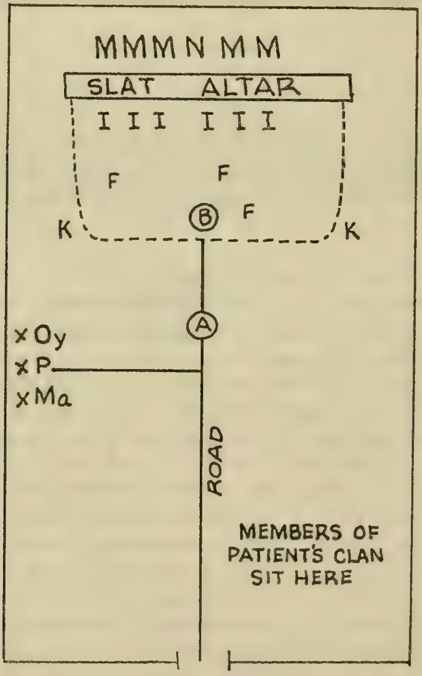

Figure 45.—Diagram of a curing ceremony. M=medicinemen; N=nawai, or head of the society; I=iariko (corn-ear fetish); F=fetishes placed here and there; B=medicine bowl; A=a·sa, or water bowl; K=kohaiya (bear), or ma·ca'inyi (bear foreleg skins); Oy=Oyoyewi; P=patient; Ma=Masewi. The sand painting, upon which the corn ears and other fetishes are placed, is shown in figure 43.

ceremony begins upon arrival of the patient. First there are prayers. Then songs are sung for a considerable time. During the singing, two, three, or four doctors go to the house of the patient to drive away the hí·yatsanyi (sickness) and witches (kanadyaiya). They do this by blowing and brushing, or whipping, away the evil influences with their eagle wing feathers. Then they return to the curing chamber and take their turn at singing while other doctors go to the patient's house to cleanse it.

After much singing the patient is diagnosed. They feel him to see if any foreign objects have been "shot" into him. If so, they are removed by sucking or with the tips of the eagle wing-feathers.[35] There are undoubtedly other rituals, but my abbreviated account does not specify them. At the conclusion of the ceremony the patient is given medicine-water to drink. The doctors may bathe the patient also, first with amole (*Yucca glauca*) water and then with medicine-water. When the ritual is completed the patient is taken home and the doctors, or some of them, go out and deposit prayer-sticks for his recovery.

In instances where the patient is not brought to the curing chamber, the doctors go to his house to treat him. Details of this were not obtained, but they probably are much like those in the curing chamber.

The tsinaodanyi ritual is apparently essentially like the wikacanyi except that (1) the former requires more doctors, and (2) a stolen, or lost, heart is retrieved and restored in the tsinaodanyi ceremony. The latter is, however, a very fundamental and important difference, according to Sia philosophy. The loss of a heart is a very serious matter, powerful evil spirits are involved, danger is faced and risk incurred in opposing these spirits, and the feat of restoring the heart is a difficult one. Ritual and paraphernalia for the two kinds of ceremonies are very much alike, it is said. But the songs are different. As explained in "Cosmology," songs are supernaturalistic means of producing an effect upon the external world; one *does* things with songs. A stolen heart can be restored only by means of the proper songs. There are two kinds of curing songs: wikacanyi yu·nyi (songs) and wínock'ᵃ (heart) yunyi (songs). And only the Flint, Giant, and Fire societies have "heart" songs. It is not, of course, that members of other societies do not *know* these songs; they do. They have heard them and actually they could sing them. But this is beside the point; only certain societies have, or "own," these heart songs, and only those societies can use them with efficacy. Here is a "heart" song:

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[35] Mrs. Stevenson (1904, pp. 497, 500) describes the way a Sia medicineman, visiting in Zuni, removed stones from a patient with his feathers. He also removed a large stone from her forehead by the same method—she had complained of headache.

hicro morɛ paiyatyamo ictóa kɛmikowako cawínock'ᵃ
you male youth arrow why is it your heart
kʋrati·tcrowidya canirʋdyaiya'no [then addressing the
throwing away going about
heart]: hayoᴅowɛsi sisaimi ima'a amaiᴅía'a
come back whole to come right here
sótsirakaro[36] iariko kokoyocomitsa
ceremonial house corn-ear fetish is sitting
yanyi'inʋ'ʋka tcokoyɛtanoma
in front of to sit down

Free translation: "You, Arrow Youth, why is it that you are going about throwing your heart away? [Then, addressing the heart:] Come back, whole, and sit down in front of the altar where the iariko are sitting."

There is another song to put the heart back into the body after it has been retrieved.

At the conclusion of the wikacanyi or tsinaodanyi ceremony each medicineman must be given a basketful of inawi, a basketful of food (in which case it would be called by the ceremonial term, Bέwitsa, instead of the ordinary word, opɛ·wi), and some blankets. The first basket must be covered with a timi (a cotton felt blanket), and some itsatyunyi (beads). The shaman use the timi for any ritual usage that requires cotton: string for prayersticks or wabanyi, or as waboctca for body decoration.

*Treatment: supplementary version.*—One informant supplied an account of a curing ceremony that contains elements not found in the preceding one, and, rather than attempt to integrate the two, I give a compact version of this additional account here.

If a sick person, or his family, wishes to have a medicine society cure him, his father, or close male relative, takes a handful of fine cornmeal (pɛtana) to the head of the society of his (or their) choice. He asks the head to come with his society members to cure the sick one. The head (nawai, or naicdia, father) calls the members of his society together, distributes the meal among them, and tells them that so-and-so has asked them to cure the sick one. The doctors go out and pray with the meal; then they begin to get ready for the curing ceremony.

Unless the sick one is critically ill, the medicine society will spend 4 days, after receiving the meal request, in preparing for the ceremonial rooms where they spend most of the time during this 4-day period. Nonsociety members are not permitted to enter their rooms at this time, but my informants said that they would be "getting their things ready: their medicines, paraphernalia, etc." Each morning they drink herb brew and vomit. Sexual continence is observed.

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[36] This term has "strong meaning," says the informant. It means a ceremonial house when the altar and all the paraphernalia for a ceremony have been laid out or set up. One could say sótsirakai, also.

The family of the sick one will be preparing for the ceremony, too. They vomit every morning and observe sexual continence. They spend considerable time getting food ready to feed the doctors and relatives on the night of the cure and to give to the doctors as payment of their services: they grind corn and wheat, bake bread, kill a cow or a sheep, etc.

On the evening of the fourth day the sick one is taken into the chamber of the curing society. The doctors have their sand painting made on the floor and their paraphernalia—animal and anthropomorphic fetishes, flint knives, bear paws, medicine bowls, iarikos, etc.—laid on, or near it. A gaotcanyi, armed with bow and arrow, stands guard outside the door of the chamber to prevent witches from coming inside. The doctors are sitting behind the altar singing when the patient is brought in, walking, or being carried, over a road of meal. The patient is placed next to the wall on the side, but a little to the front, of the sand painting. Masewi sits on one side of the patient, Oyoyewi on the other. The close relatives of the sick one sit at the end of the room opposite the meal painting (see fig. 45).

The doctors sing for a while in order to induce the spirits of the animal tcaianyi (mountain lion, bear, badger, wolf, eagle, shrew (*Sorex personatus*, maídyup[1]), etc., to enter the chamber, traveling over the road of meal, and enter the little images of themselves on the sand painting. Since the doctors work only with supernatural power received from these animal doctors, it is essential that their spirits be present. One of the women members of the society brings in a bowl of water. It is now time to mix the medicine. One of the doctors comes out from behind the altar and pours six dippers of water into the waicti, one for each of the six directions. Songs are sung to the spirits (especially to the animal doctors) of the cardinal points as this is done. Then the doctors put their medicines into the medicine bowl; each one takes some powdered herbs from his buckskin bag and puts them into the water. They return to their places behind the altar and sing again. After a few songs they request all the relatives of the patient to go outside for a while.

After about half an hour the relatives return to the curing chamber. The medicinemen are beginning to cure the patient. They go to the fireplace, rub ashes on their hands, and then feel all over the sick one's body: "They are looking for the sickness," i.e., the objects which the witches have "shot" into him. Whenever they find anything, they suck it out. Sticks, pebbles, thorns, rags, etc., are removed in this way. After a doctor sucks something out of the patient's body, he spits it out into his own hand, holds it up so people can see it, then he deposits it into a pottery bowl.

After all the doctors have "cured" the patient, they turn their attention to witches. If they discover that they have stolen the patient's heart, they must go out and find it and bring it back. Sometimes they look into the medicine bowl "to see if there are any witches around; if there are, they can see them in that bowl." If they see any, or, if they are going out to retrieve a stolen heart, the doctors prepare themselves to go out into the pueblo and battle with the witches. All the doctors do not go; some remain in the curing chamber. Those who are to go draw ma·cinyi (skins of bears' forelegs) on their left arms, put on a necklace of bear claws, hang a reed whistle from their necks by a cord, pick up a flint knife in the right hand and set out.

They run out into the town, or outside the village, looking for witches. Sometimes they fight them: "You can hear them fighting in the dark, hollering." Sometimes a doctor is rendered unconscious; sometimes a witch is captured and brought back into the curing chamber where he is killed. If they have been out after the patient's stolen heart they invariably return with it. The "heart" is a ball of rags, in the center of which is a kernel of corn; the corn is the real heart. The doctors unwrap the rags and examine the corn closely. If they find it "burned or mouldy" the patient will remain sick, or even die. If the corn is unblemished, the patient will get well promptly. In either case he is given the corn to swallow, and a draught from the medicine bowl. All the relatives of the patient are given medicine to drink from the bowl. The patient is then taken to his home. The mother, or close female relative, and her "helpers" now bring out the food, the stews, beans, chili, bread, etc., and everyone eats. Baskets of flour are brought in, too, and given by the patient's family to the doctors. This is the payment for their services.

## SOCIETIES AND CURING

The Flint, Giant, and Fire societies are the only ones capable of performing all kinds of curing rituals; only they have the heart songs. The Snake, Kapina, and Koshairi societies are capable of the aictyuwanyi and the wikacanyi ceremonies only. Kwiraina and Katsina societies cannot cure at all. It is said that Gomaiyawic has the power and the right to cure, my medical informant stated, but added that he knew of no instance in which they had performed such a ritual. Essentially the same observation was made about Caiyeik society.

## CURE BY ADOPTION OR PLEDGE

If a person has been ill for some time, or has been in a state of anxiety or melancholy, or has been having bad dreams, he may ask to be admitted to a society, or he may pledge himself to become a drummer or perhaps to take part in a katsina dance at a neighboring pueblo, as a therapeutic measure. A parent may pledge a child to a society, or ask to have it adopted by another clan, for the same reason. If a woman has had a number of miscarriages she may pledge an unborn child to a society in order to assure, or facilitate, a safe delivery.

## WHITE MAN'S MEDICINE

I have already touched upon this subject in "Health, Sanitation, and Diet" (p. 103). I might only add here that I believe that some of the older Indians a few decades age believed that White man's medicine was effective in some cases but that it was incapable of coping with witchcraft; only Indian medicinemen could do this.

## COMMUNAL CURING CEREMONY

Toward the end of winter, or early spring, the Tiamunyi orders a curing ceremony for the entire pueblo. Sickness is usually most prevalent during the winter, or as my informant put it: "the witches have been busy all winter; they get too thick in the pueblo." This ceremony is called hʻa·stitc (pueblo) nyuk'atsimɛ (no translation); its purpose is to purify the village, drive out evil spirits (witches) and influences, and treat any sickness that may be found.

Decision to hold the ceremony is made by the cacique, but the actual request to the heads of the curing societies is made by the War chief. Corn from the hotcanitsa is ground into meal, some of which is used to make paper bread (matsinyi), which is distributed to the medicinemen at the time the request for their services is made. Flint, Giant, and Fire societies are always requested to participate in this communal ceremony. Kapina, Snake, Koshairi, and Gomaiwayic are sometimes asked to take part, and it was said that Kwiraina *could* participate. But Katsina and Caiyeik societies never take part.

Preparations for the communal curing ceremony are quite similar to those for the cure of an individual patient: the societies retire to their houses for 4 days, vomit every morning, observe sexual continence, and get their medicines and paraphernalia ready. On the fourth evening, the night of the ceremony, all the curing societies gather together in one large house which has been cleared for this occasion. A sand painting is made and fetishes are laid out as usual.

The cacique sits in the place which would be occupied by the patient if it were an individual curing ceremony. Masewi and Oyoyewi sit on either side of him. The people of the pueblo crowd into the room for the ceremony.

The ceremony opens with songs, invoking the spirits of the animal supernaturals to come in and invest their respective images. Medicine is mixed in the waicti, water being poured in for the six directions: there is much sprinkling of altar, doctors, and paraphernalia with medicine water and meal. After these preliminaries, the doctors, one or two at a time, come out from behind the altar where they have been sitting singing, and go over and "cure" the cacique: they suck various objects out of his body and toss them into a pottery bowl.[37] Then the doctors go about among the people gathered there and "cure" them. After the curing, the doctors look into the waicti "to see if they can see any witches" about. If they do (and frequently do) a number of the doctors arm themselves with their bear paws, bear-claw necklaces, reed whistles, and flint knives and go out and fight with them. Sometimes they capture a witch and bring him back into the chamber where they shoot him with an arrow, as is done at San Felipe and Santo Domingo (White, 1932 b, p. 48; 1935, p. 126).

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[37] The cacique "stands for" the pueblo. Perhaps the idea here is that by "curing" the cacique the pueblo is cured.

# HUNTING

Individual men may kill small game while out in the country herding horses or sheep, or while going to gather materials for paints, or soapweed. But hunting, as such, is a communal enterprise at Sia. Two kinds of hunts are distinguished: one for small game—cottontail and jackrabbits, wood rats—and the other for deer. Small game is hunted either for the cacique—to supply him with meat for ceremonial purposes—or for the people; deer hunts are always for the cacique. Women may accompany men on small game hunts; only men go on deer hunts.

## COMMUNAL RABBIT HUNTS

The War chief goes to Tiamunyi and formally asks him for permission "to use the people and the land" for a small game hunt. Tiamunyi always gives his permission. War chief then goes to the head of the Caiyeik (Hunters') society to assist with songs and ritual. At an appointed time Caiyeik nawai, accompanied by Masewi, Oyoyewi, and their gowatcanyi (assistants), goes to a sacred spot (tsapatcroma) near the pueblo, where he builds a fire and prays for game.

Early next morning the War chiefs and their assistants meet in the Wren kiva where they lay plans for the hunt: they decide where they will hunt and whether women will participate or not. When this meeting is over, the War chief, or one of his assistants, goes through the village announcing the hunt.

On the day of the hunt the head of the Caiyeik society goes to the meeting place first. He builds a small fire, "just big enough to light cigarettes with." The War chief designates one of his assistants to accompany Caiyeik nawai constantly. After a brief ritual (prayers?) by Caiyeik, the people come out to the meeting place and are given instructions regarding the hunt (by Masewi or Caiyeik or both?). If women take part, a place to eat lunch is designated, otherwise this point is omitted.

When game is killed the women run for it; the first to reach it keeps it. She must, however, pay the man who killed it: flour for a jackrabbit or cottontail; bread and stew for a wood-rat or bird. The hunt lasts until sundown. No one is permitted to leave the hunt before it ends, and no one is allowed to lag behind.

If the hunt is for the hotcanitsa (i.e., cacique), the people roast the game in the evening after the hunt. The next morning before breakfast the tcraikatsi (vice caciques) go around the village and collect the roasted animals, and take them to the hotcanitsa, where they hang them up and "take care of them so they won't spoil." If, however, the hunt is for "the people," they can keep the game and eat it.

## DEER HUNTS

Deer hunts are always held for the Tiamunyi and at the request of the War chief. My notes falter with regard to preliminary details, but I believe that Masewi formally requests the assistance of the head of the Caiyeik society; whether or not he requests permission of the Tiamunyi, or notifies him of his intention to call for a hunt, is not clear. After decision has been made, a ritual is held near the rock on top of the secret underground chamber. A fire is built, Caiyeik nawai officiates; Masewi and perhaps some gowatcanyi are there. The next morning a meeting is held in a kiva with Masewi presiding. "They talk about the hunt." After the meeting, the hunt is announced through the village by the gowatcanyi.

Before leaving for the Jemez Mountains, where the hunts are usually held, each hunter deposits a prayer-feather bunch (waʙanyi) and beads (itsa·tyunyi) which have been prepared for him by his grandparents or his mother, and a wicʙi, made by himself, to the maiyanyi in general and to Caiyeik (the spirit patron of game animals) in particular.

Masewi is in charge of the deer hunt. If they have two hunting parties, as they sometimes do, Masewi takes charge of one; Oyoyewi, the other. Before leaving the pueblo Masewi appoints men to serve as Masewi and Oyoyewi and gowatcanyi during their absence. The gowatcanyi go along, too, as assistants to the War chiefs. The head of the Caiyeik society, or his assistant, must go; other members of the Hunters society also may go. The hunt usually lasts 6 days: 1 day to go, 4 days to hunt, and 1 day to return. However, if they have little success they may extend the hunt a day or two. They establish camps as they proceed. Some men are detailed to cook; others, to take care of the horses.

"If they get enough deer on the first day for the cacique Masewi tells the men they can hunt for themselves. If the hunters have no luck during the first three days Caiyeik nawai performs a ritual on the evening of the third day." Details were not obtained, but the informant stated that Caiyeik has his little stone figures of mountain lion, and perhaps other fetishes, laid out. "They sing songs to bring game near the camp."

"If you meet someone, anyone, in the mountains while you are hunting, don't shake hands with him, for if you do your luck will pass out from you into him." Also, "If you wound a deer and track him only to find that someone else has brought him down, the deer belongs to you."

"When you kill a deer you must sprinkle petana (prayer meal) on him. Take a flint (knife, which every hunter carries) and pretend to cut the skin along the lines where you would cut if you were really skinning a deer." After that, the deer is skinned so that the head and backbone are left attached to the skin. The hunter takes the deer's reproductive organs, sprinkles them with petana, beads, red ocher, and steamun—"if you have it"—and, best of all, with naiyabunyi (a mineral found near San Felipe), wabunyi (a kind of shell), and sawatc (a black, hard, shiny stuff "like coal"), and buries them. He puts his little mokaitc (mountain lion stone effigy) into the deer's chest and lets him feed on his heart and lungs. Then he cuts the meat up and packs it to be carried to Sia.

While in camps on the hunt, the hunters make up new songs and sing them at night. They sing these songs as they enter the pueblo upon their return. They go directly to the hotcanitsa where the Masewi and Oyoyewi pro tem, assisted by the tcraikatsi "if there are lots of deer," carry the meat inside. A deer is divided into two parts, one for the cacique, the other for the hunter who killed it. The hunter gets the head, the skin and part of the backbone and the chest from the neck down to and including the fourth rib, and a part of the belly. The rest goes to the cacique. All the meat, however, is piled up in the hotcanitsa for the night.

The next morning Masewi dispatches a gowatcanyi to escort Caiyeik nawai to the hotcanitsa. He (or Masewi?) gives Caiyeik a wicʙi and "tells him about the meat." Caiyeik formally gives the cacique his share of the meat and tells him that he may use it as he pleases. Then Masewi talks; he, too, presents the meat to Tiamunyi. Then the gowatcanyi and the gowatcanyi pro tem slice the meat and make jerky, and put it out to dry. The tcraikatsi keep watch over it to keep it from spoiling; they turn it from time to time and bring it in at night. When it has dried they bring it in and store it in the storeroom of the hotcanitsa. It will be used in a stew for the medicinemen at hanyiko.

The hunters go to the hotcanitsa and each takes his head, skin, and meat home. He lays the deer on the floor, covers it with a white embroidered manta (cotton textile), lays strings of beads on its neck, and sprinkles it with prayer meal (petana). Neighbors come in "to visit and to welcome the deer." The mother of the hunter cooks the deer's head, after it has been skinned; she boils it whole in a large kettle. She also cooks the lungs and heart. Then she makes paper bread (matsinyi), kabana (a corncake, like a tortilla), or wheat bread. The mother or sister of the hunter goes through the village inviting the people of each household to come to her house to eat. The bones of the deer are thrown out on the refuse dumps; dogs are not allowed to gnaw them.

The hunter takes the deer's head and horns, with a handful of petana, to a medicineman, who need not be honawai'aiti, and asks him to paint it and "give it breath" (tsa·ts is the word for breath or soul). The medicineman distributes the meal among his fellow society members. They "dress" the head during the hanyiko ceremony (about the middle of November). They stuff native-grown, unspun cotton into the eye sockets, nostrils, and foramen magnum (the opening through which the spinal cord passes). They paint a blue-green quarter moon on the forehead, and smear the entire skull with ipctc (white clay). The face is sprinkled with stcamun. Turkey or eagle feathers are stuck into the nostrils. And, finally, a short turkey body feather is tied to each point on the horns. The medicinemen return the head and horns to the hunter owner on the last evening of hanyiko. He puts it on the roof of his house, close to the chimney, where he lets it remain for an indefinite time. He may eventually "take it out and bury it when it gets very old." The Sia have a reputation for being excellent hunters, and deer heads and horns are conspicuously numerous on their housetops.

"Sometimes they have a dance to celebrate a deer hunt." It will be the Wayuhona dance and will be held 4 or 8 days after the hunters return to the pueblo. All Caiyeik songs begin and end with the word Wayuhona. Sometimes both men and women take part in this dance; sometimes only men dance. The costumes are very much like those of the "corn dance" on August 15, except that men wear two eagle tail feathers on each side of the head. Women carry the head and horns of the newly killed deer. They have a chorus of singers but no drum.

## WAR

Warfare was a part of the life and culture of Sia, and other Keresan pueblos, until about 1880 when the last engagements took place. They had weapons—bow and arrow, club, shield—a Warriors' society (the Opi), war priests or chiefs, war dances, ceremonies, fetishes, and magic. Few, if any, men were alive in Sia in 1928, when this study was begun, who had actually been engaged in armed conflict with an enemy. I was obliged, therefore, to rely largely upon memories and tradition for information. There are good reasons for believing that virtually all fighting done by the Sia was defensive rather than aggressive. They had occasionally to defend themselves against raids and attacks, principally from the Navaho; we have virtually no evidence of any attacks initiated by the Sia upon the mo·comi (enemy nomads, chiefly Navaho) and none at all for attacks upon a neighboring pueblo.

As we have already seen (p. 124), it is difficult to identify, and to distinguish between, the war "priests" and the war "chiefs" mentioned by Stevenson. Apparently, the priests, who represented the twin war gods, Masewi and Oyoyewi, served for life. They had charge of war parties. With the end of warfare, these offices ceased to exist, it would appear, and only the appointed war chiefs have been perpetuated.

If a Sia warrior killed an enemy on a war party he apparently enjoyed the option of touching or not touching the slain man. If, however, he did touch him or take any of his weapons, clothing, or fetishes, he was obliged to scalp him, in which case he would have to become a member of the Opi society. Scalping, incidentally, consisted of removing all the skin on the skull upon which hair normally grows, not merely a small round piece on the crown of the head as was the practice among many other tribes.

A warrior who has taken a scalp is not allowed to enter the pueblo at once and without warning upon his return. He is required to stop at some distance from the village and indicate, by means of a smoke signal, that he has taken a scalp. All the men in the pueblo who know the scalp songs go out to meet him, singing. The scalp taker joins them and, together, they encircle the village, walking and singing. Then they enter the pueblo on the north side and go to the north plaza, pass through it and go to the site of the secret underground chamber. Each scalp taker, if there are more than one, has one pole, to the top of which he has attached all the scalps he has taken. They erect their scalp poles just west of the rock which covers the entrance to the chamber. This is done because the scalps are "children" and this spot is "sacred to children." When they have finished their songs they go to their homes.

On the day following they have the Ahina dance. All males must dance, and all women who wish to do so may take part. The dance is held under the authority of the War chiefs, Masewi and Oyoyewi, but they appoint two men to take direct charge of the affair. Early in the morning, these men go through the pueblo telling all dancers to go to Wren kiva to dress. The scalp takers are requested to go to the ceremonial house of the Flint society; they take their scalps with them. Just before sunrise, the scalp takers, escorted by members of the Flint society, go to Wren kiva. When they get there the dancers come out, and the dance begins at sunrise. Two lines are formed. One is led by the head of the Flint society, followed by Masewi and Oyoyewi, the Opi, and then the singers from the kiva. They begin to dance in front of the Wren kiva, but as they dance they move toward the Turquoise kiva. Then they go to the north plaza where they dance; this is repeated in the south plaza. The dance lasts about 2 hours.

When the dance is over, all the ordinary people are dismissed, but Masewi, Oyoyewi, the Opi, and the scalp takers go to the ceremonial house of the Flint society, presumably for a speech or ritual. Before they undress they go to a sacred spot (tsapatcroma) on the side of the hill above the river, west of Wren kiva, where they pray. They return to the Flint society's house, remove their costumes, and go to the river to bathe. Then they go to their own homes.

A date is set, 4 or 8 years hence—but in making the announcement they always say "days," instead of "years"—for the Atsɛ'ɛᴅanyi (q. v.), a ceremonial dance which "frees the scalp taker from a dangerous condition" in which he has been placed by killing an enemy and taking his scalp. A slain enemy becomes a ko'oko (see Glossary) and as such he might injure, or kill, his slayer unless the Atsɛ'ɛᴅanyi is performed for him.

Scalp takers (who then become Opi) tan their scalps and keep them in their houses. The scalp becomes the "son" of its taker, who must feed him every time he eats. Scalps were buried with their "fathers" at death.

# PARAPHERNALIA[38]

In describing ceremonies, reference has been made repeatedly to articles of paraphernalia. In most instances I have not paused to describe these items and to set forth the data I obtained concerning them. Instead, I am devoting this chapter exclusively to this subject.

## IĂRIKO: CORN-EAR FETISH

Iariko (or Iatiku) is "the Mother of all the Indians" in Keresan mythology (Utctsiti, in our Sia origin myth, is equated with Iariko). This fetish consists of a decorated ear of corn; corn, it will be remembered (see p. 121), stands for Utctsiti (Iariko), and it is commonly spoken of as yaya (mother). This is unquestionably one of the most important, if not the most important, fetish of the Keres; Stevenson (1894, p. 40) called it "the supreme idol" of the Sia. Stevenson has an account of the iariko, illustrated with an excellent colored picture of it (ibid., pl. ix). See also White (1942 a, pp. 339–340, and fig. 48) for an account and sketch of this fetish at Santa Ana. I have a few data to add to Stevenson's account.

The ear of corn used must be perfect, with straight rows, and fully kerneled to the tip. Feathers of the wren, especially, but also magpie, road runner, turkey, duck, or mocking bird—but specifically not the owl, crow, blackbird, or flicker—are glued to the ear with honey of the bumblebee. The pith of the cob is removed from the butt end about halfway to the tip. Into this cavity the "heart" is inserted. This may be either a small round black stone called Dyatca′aicti or a bit of quartz crystal (witcatsi), usually the latter. I believe that songs and prayers must accompany the animation of the fetish, but no data were obtained on this point.

Then a number of narrow strips of "bamboo" (*Phragmites*) are cut in lengths equal to the length of the corn ear. Each is wrapped with cotton string, and at the top end a fluffy eagle feather, taken from beneath the tail, is tied (fig. 46). These slats are then placed longitudinally alongside the ear of corn. They are securely held with a wooden hoop at the top and bottom of the ear (fig. 47; also pl. ix in Stevenson). Then parrot tail feathers are inserted in the top of the fetish, inside the circle of eagle feathers. The fetish has a "face" on one side of the tip end. At the back of the "head" two long parrot

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[38] While the present study was in progress, I examined a considerable number of specimens in the collections of the U.S. National Museum that had been obtained by the Stevensons in 1879 (see p. 1). Through the kindness of members of the Museum's staff, I had a number of these specimens photographed, and their materials identified except for the pump drill (pl. 9, *b*). Since specimens of the material culture of the Keresan Pueblos are not very abundant in Museum collections, the photographs in plates 6 to 11, inclusive, make a significant contribution to the published record of Keresan Pueblo culture.

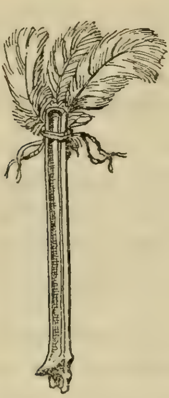

Figure 46.—Bamboo splint for iariko.

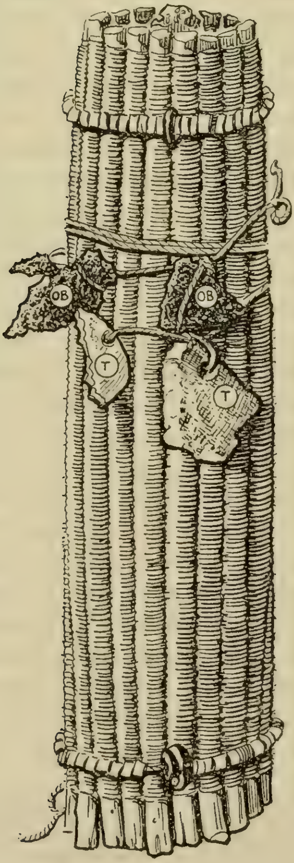

Figure 47.—Iariko without feathers (from a photograph of a specimen).

tail feathers are inserted. A necklace of turquoise, obsidian, and beads is placed around iariko's "neck." Iarikos are placed upright upon the altars during ceremonies, always facing the door (see fig. 45).

Stevenson (1894, p. 40) says that each iariko must be renewed every 4 years; one of my informants said that "all members of each society make new iarikos at one time [periodically]; it may take two or three days." Each medicineman, with some exceptions, has an iariko: "it guides him and cares for him." When he dies it is buried with him.

## PRAYERSTICKS (H'A·TCMĬNYI)

Sia, like all other pueblos, makes and uses prayersticks: sticks, cut from twigs or branches of living trees, carved, painted, and decked with feathers. I am sure that at least 50 pages would be needed to set down all the detailed facts pertaining to Sia prayersticks, were they known. Many different kinds of prayersticks are made and they are used in various combinations. There are unquestionably many rules and customs that specify who may make prayersticks and upon what occasions. Our knowledge of Keresan pueblo prayersticks in general is fairly adequate: they are made by medicinemen, for the most part, upon occasions such as solar ceremonies, summer retreats for rain, and mortuary rituals, and they are means of communication with the spirit world. However, we do not have a completely adequate knowledge and understanding of the Indian's conception of prayersticks. Some of them have faces, eyes, and mouths, and Stevenson (1894, p. 76) says that they "are symbolic of the beings to whom they are offered." Are these sticks then spirits themselves, or do they embody spirits, or merely represent them? The sticks are unquestionably means of communication, and they, or the feathers attached to them, may possibly be considered gifts, or offerings, to the spirits.

My data on Sia prayersticks are meager (because I usually gave precedence to other subjects when I had a good informant to work with). However, Stevenson has some excellent colored pictures of, and some data on, them (pls. xi, xii, xiii, and pp. 74, 76). And, of course, other monographs on the Keresan pueblos offer descriptions and illustrations.

All Sia prayersticks are made of willow except in the case of some of the summer ceremonies for rain when spruce (or fir?), with some of the attached twigs, is used. Figure 48, *a*, is an informant's sketch (redrawn by a White artist) of a "typical" Sia prayerstick. It is from 4 to 6 inches long. The head end of a prayerstick is the end farthest from the roots of the tree from which it was cut. In figure 48, *a*, the head of the stick has been cut into four flat triangular facets which are painted alternately blue green and yellow. The tip is painted blue green; the butt, yellow. The bark has been peeled off at certain places. A waʙanyi (a feather-bunch consisting of 1 eagle

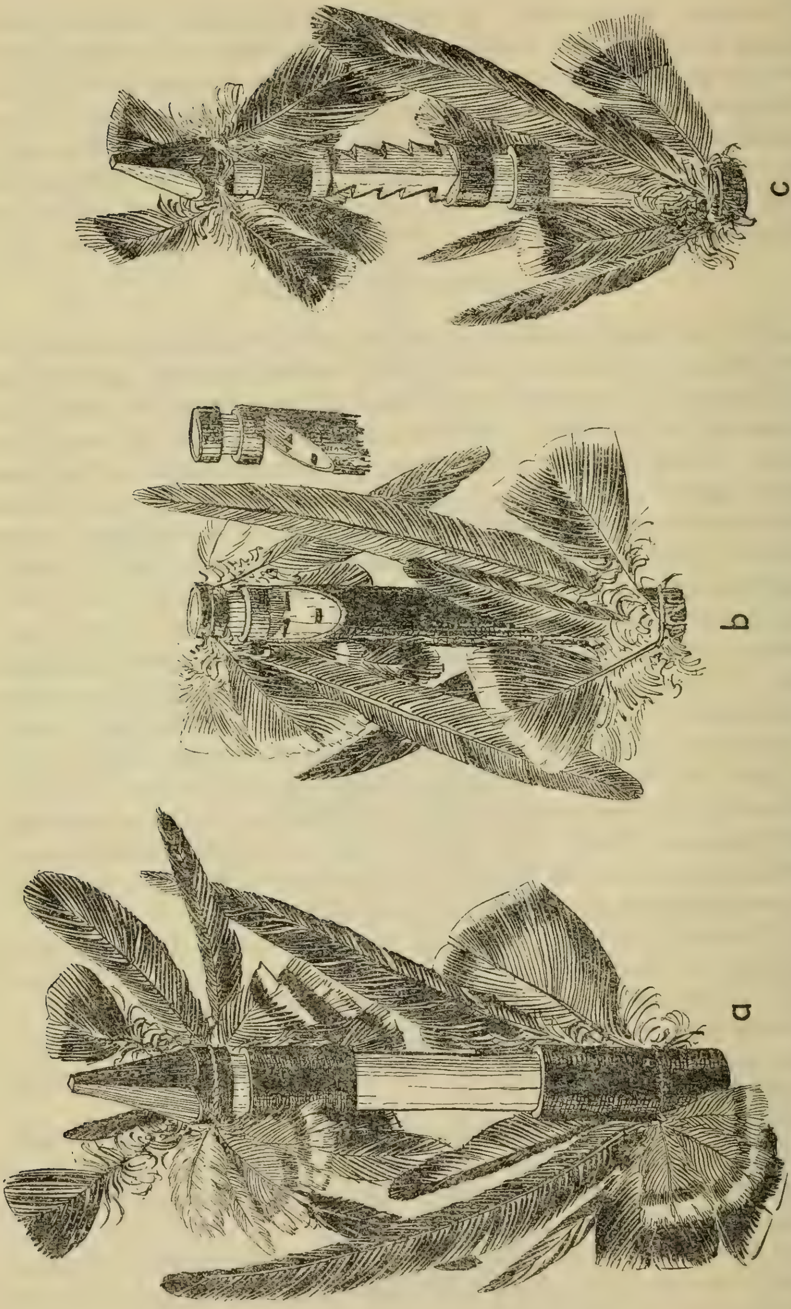

FIGURE 48.—Prayersticks.

body-feather, 2 or 3 short turkey body-feathers, and a feather from some other bird) is tied to the "neck" of the stick. A few short turkey and fluffy eagle feathers are tied near the butt end. This stick was apparently conceived of as a man by the informant who made the sketch, for he described one part as "shoulders," another the trunk, and a third "the part covered by the [dance] kilt." This kind of stick may be used "for any kind of prayer."

In figure 48, *b*, another common type of prayerstick is shown. Two of these sticks, one male, the other female, are tied together with a yucca leaf. Male sticks have blue-green faces; female, yellow; both have black eyes and mouth. They are about 4 or 5 inches long. A waʙanyi is tied above the face; eagle and turkey feathers are tied at the base. This pair of sticks may be used for any kind of prayer.

Figure 48, *c*, shows still another kind of stick. The four facets at the top are painted alternately yellow and blue green. One segment has been made square with notches on two opposite sides; the notches "are a ladder," watiya'mι. This stick is offered to the spirits of the six directions during the summer ceremony of kacaiᴅimɛ. The stick varies in length from 2 to 12 inches. If need for rain is urgent "they make a short stick; if it isn't, they use a longer one." This stick may be used also at hanyiko, but in this case "they use a larger stick."

## WíCBI

There is no English equivalent of "wícʙi". It is the name of a ceremonial object that is made and buried by each of the medicine societies periodically (unfortunately, my notes do not specify when). Each society makes and buries only one; all of the societies perform this ceremony at the same time, however.

The wicʙi is made of a piece of "cane," or "bamboo," commonly called istoa ('arrow'). I was unable to obtain a specimen for identification. It is described as having a hollow, segmented stalk; it may well be *Phragmites* sp. One cuts a piece of the stalk so that it is about 10 or 12 inches long. It is cut so that a joint, or segment, is about 2 or 3 inches from the bottom end; this end is cut off at right angles to the stalk. The top end is cut on a slant, or bevel. A narrow strip is cut, or scraped, down one side of the stalk, beginning at the lowest point of the beveled end at the top. This flattened strip is painted with liquid black paint (ma·nyi) and, while the paint is still wet, it is

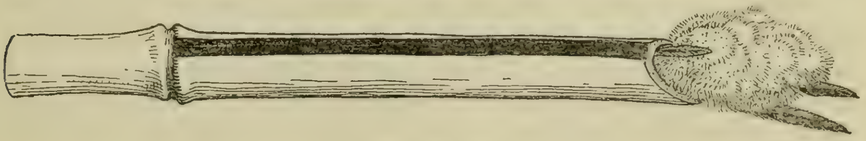

Figure 49.—Wícʙi.

sprinkled with stcamu·na (a black, sparkling powder; see "Glossary"). The rest of the shaft is painted with red ocher (fig. 49).

The tube, above the segment near the bottom, is filled with wild tobacco (Báits); it is tamped in until the tube is filled from the segment almost to the top. Then two crówakai (magpie, *Pica pica*) tail feathers are inserted into the tube, into the tobacco, on the side where the highest point of the beveled end is: this is the "back" of the wicʙi. One could use the feathers of the djack'$^{a}$ (road runner, *Geococcyx californianus*) if magpie feathers are not available. The top of the tube is then filled with Dyami cpaik'$^{a}$ (short, fluffy eagle feathers). Finally, one tail-, or wing-, feather of the cu·ti (rock wren, *Salpinctes obsoletus*) is inserted at the lowest point of the beveled end; this is the "face" of the wicʙi.

Then the medicinemen "dress" the wicʙi. They make a blanket of unspun, native-grown cotton, about 20 inches long, 16 inches wide, and 2 inches thick. This is the wicʙi's timi, or clothing. The cotton blanket is laid on the floor and the wicʙi is stood erect upon it, butt end down, in the middle of the blanket. Food, shells, beads, even a host from the Catholic church, or money, in very small pieces, are placed on the blanket near the wicʙi. Then one grasps the edge of the blanket at midpoint between the corners at each end and each side, one at a time, and brings the blanket to the wicʙi as high as it will reach, leaving the corners of the blanket hanging down. The blanket is then tied firmly to the wicʙi with a long string of beads. Feathers are stuck into the openings at each of the four corners. It is now ready to be taken out.

The wicʙi are taken out and buried at one or another of two sacred spots (tsapacroma): Cuwɩmɩ ('Turquoise') Tsinaoticɛ ('Point') or Tsiʙi (see "Sacred Places"). The Flint society always buries its wicʙi at Turquoise Point; the other societies may choose either place.

The medicinemen leave their house with the wicʙi early in the morning just before sunrise and bury it just as the sun shows itself above the horizon. They must sing ceremonial songs from the time they leave their house until they return.

My informants were loath to discuss the meaning of this ceremonial: "you've got to be tcaiyanyi [medicineman] to know that."

## ÁCTITCO'Mɩ

This is the so-called "pole" carried in the dance for the Blessed Virgin on August 15. It is used in all the Keresan pueblos, in Jemez, and among the Tewa as well. It is unquestionably one of the most conspicuous items of Keresan paraphernalia, but very little indeed is known about it; informants are loath to discuss it and it has been difficult even to ascertain its name (White, 1942 a, p. 344; Lange, 1959,

p. 347). All of this means, of course, that it is a very important and sacred object. As we have already seen (p. 135), only certain men are permitted, and obligated, to carry it.

At Santa Ana I obtained kastotco'ma as the name of this "pole"; at Cochiti, Lange (1959, p. 347) found ka-arshti-truma to be "the most common" name. The first syllable, *ka*, may be the third person possessive pronoun, *his* or *her*. One of my Sia informants said that actitcomi means "something like the key that opens"; I know of no other attempt at translation.

The actitcomi consists essentially of two parts: a spruce pole about 12 feet long and about 2 inches in diameter, and an egg-shaped "head" at the upper end as the pole is carried. (See White, 1942 a, fig. 52, p. 344, for a good sketch and a description of the pole at Santa Ana; two photographs in pl. 5, White, 1935, show the pole in use in the saint's day dance in Santo Domingo; Lange, 1959, has two sketches of it in fig. 23, and two photographs of it in dances in the 1890's; photographs in Parsons, 1929, pls. 24 and 25 show it in use in San Ildefonso.) At the crown of the egg-shaped head is a bunch of parrot tail feathers; a thick fringe of sheep wool, dyed red, surrounds the feathers on the head at the point of insertion. The head is painted a dark blue-green with a black-and-white band running around its "equator." Red wool surrounds the head at the base, also. Attached to the bottom of the head are a dance kilt and a foxskin. Then, hanging down the pole is the embroidered sash worn by male dancers in the saint's day dance. When I commented upon the similarity of the "costume" of the pole to that of male dancers on August 15, an informant said that it was the dancers who dressed like the actitcomi, not the reverse.

The actitcomi is "dressed," i.e., all of its parts are assembled, by either Koshairi or Kwiraina—depending upon which has charge of the dance for the Blessed Virgin; and the actitcomi is used on this occasion only—and dismantled by them after the dance; it is kept in Lorenzo Medina's house because "it was originally made by Lorenzo's father."

One informant supplied this mythological note: "In the beginning Actitcomi was a man-spirit in the fourth, or yellow, world below. This was his costume. He originated the Howinayɛ dance (on August 15 when the actitcomi is used). He became displeased with the bad behavior of the people at White House so he changed himself into a stick, like it is today." The actitcomi is "alive," i.e., it has been animated, in all probability, by a medicineman or a society, and it has a heart (probably a piece of quartz crystal). It has a face, too, and "the man who carries it in the dance must know which way to face it [toward the front]."

## GÁOTIYɛ

This is a woven rug, or blanket, about 4 or 5 feet long and 3 feet wide. It is hung on the rear wall of the house for the Blessed Virgin in the south plaza on August 15. I have never seen it on any other occasion, and Anglo-Americans would certainly not be permitted to enter the house to examine it on the saint's day, I am sure. It appears originally to have been white, but has become yellowed and dirty with age and use. It has black designs which appear to have been embroidered upon it. They were too complicated for me to sketch them from memory, and no informant has ever been willing to sketch them for me. As a matter of fact, no informant would ever tell me anything but a fragment about it: "It has to do with the Opi," one informant stated. "A woman wears it in the Opi Ahina dance. It is owned by Jose Vigil Medina [born 1893, Coyote clan, permanent drummer for the singers, and a Shima medicineman]. He had this gáotiyɛ made by an old woman at Isleta; she copied it from an old one that Jose's family had."

I would judge from the unique design and use of the gáotiyɛ, and from the attitude of informants toward it—especially their obvious unwillingness to discuss it—and, finally from my similar experience with the gáotiyɛ at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, pp. 250, 343), that this is a very important and sacred object. My guess is that the designs represent an episode in mythology. We have data on this item of paraphernalia from Sia and Santa Ana only, as far as I know. We certainly ought to know more about it.

## DRUMS

The drums used in Sia ceremonies—with the possible exception of the White man's drum used by the kahera at the feast for the Blessed Virgin and when he accompanies Santiago and Bocaiyanyi—are sacred objects: after one has been made it is "given life and heart" (presumably in a ritual performed by a medicineman or a society). Each one has a name and each belongs to a certain man in the pueblo. When the Wren kiva was destroyed by fire about 1946, one of the ceremonial drums, which was in the kiva at the time, was burned also. Recollection of this fact prompted an informant to remark that drums can die, "just like people." When a drum dies a mortuary ceremony is held for it by a medicine society as it would be for a person.

Much skill is required to make a good drum, my informants emphasized. Certain men in the Rio Grande pueblos are noted for their skill and are specialists in the manufacture of drums. My informants cited Cochiti drum makers as outstanding (see also Lange, 1959, p. 156); two of Sia's five drums in 1957 had been made in Cochiti; the rest, in Sia. Plate 7 in White, 1942 a, presents a good sketch of a typical drum and drummer, in costume, at Santa Ana. Lange (1959) describes drum making at Cochiti (pp. 176–78) and has a photograph of the process in plate 16.

## BULL ROARER

Bull roarer (háomomo) is a piece of wood about 7 inches long, one-half inch thick in the middle, but thin at the edges. It is attached, at one end, to a stout cord about 3 feet long, at the other end of which is a wooden handle (fig. 50). It is whirled vigorously so that it makes a noise; "it imitates the sound of thunder." Only the Fire, Kapina, Giant—and possibly the Flint—societies have one. "The Snake society can use the háomomo of the Kapinas."

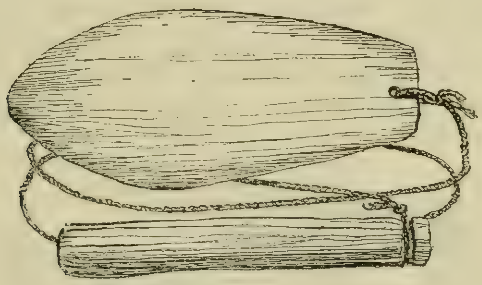

Figure 50.—Bull roarer.

## SACRED PLACES

"The Sia, like the other pueblos, have shrines scattered around the village, both near and at a considerable distance from it, which Mr. Stevenson was invited to visit and inspect. Some of them are guarded by colossal stone animals crudely formed" (Powell, 1892, p. xxviii).

These sacred spots are called tsapacroma. There are several in the vicinity of Sia; I have seen one or two among the ruins of the old pueblo northwest of Sia, close to the reservoir; they are marked by curiously, but naturally, shaped stones smeared with red ocher. The "colossal stone animals" which Powell mentioned may be the stone lions on the Potrero de las Vacas (see Lange, 1959, pl. 3). The location of some of these sacred spots is indicated in figure 28.

## MEDICINE BOWLS

Each society, with the exception of the Opi, has one or more pottery medicine bowls. They are placed upon the meal or sandpaintings during ceremonies, and "medicines" (wawa) are mixed in them. The medicines consist, in the main, I believe, of plant materials, but I am not sure that minerals are not used. In curing ceremonies patients and their relatives are given the medicine to drink; in the rain ceremonies, suds are produced in the bowls to simulate clouds (Stevenson has vivid descriptions of uses of medicine bowls in her eyewitness accounts of curing and rain ceremonies).

Figure 51 illustrates a medicine bowl of the Shima society. The slip is an "off white"; the designs have been painted on in black; the bottom is brick red. The three faces represent clouds; they are surmounted by a rainbow and lightning. The horned snakes (tsιts, water; cro·wi, snakes) have lightning tongues and clouds on their bodies. The insect is a dragonfly. Frogs or tadpoles might be shown on the other side of the bowl.

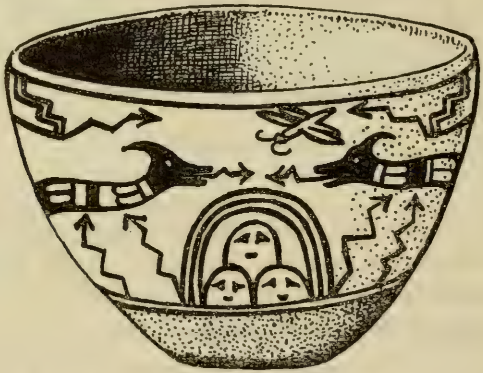

FIGURE 51.—Medicine bowl of Shima society.

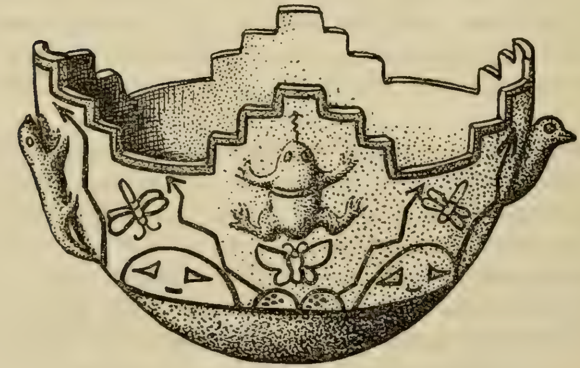

FIGURE 52.—Medicine bowl of Koshairi society.

Figure 52 shows a medicine bowl of the Koshairi society. A frog and two lizards are modeled on the sides in high relief; a horned toad might be on the other side. The designs are painted in black; the faces represent clouds, as does the terraced rim. Beneath the frog is a butterfly; on either side is a dragonfly.

## ALTARS

The word "altars" has been used extensively by ethnographers among the Pueblos to designate two quite different things: (1) a structure made of wooden slats, arranged both horizontally and vertically, carved and painted, which is erected at the rear of a sand, or meal, painting; and (2) a design made of cornmeal, pollen, or colored sands, minerals, or earth pigments, or a combination of these materials, on the floor of a ceremonial chamber; the designs often represent clouds and lightning; sometimes horned snakes, animals, bird tracks, Indians, and mythological beings are depicted. My informants were quite willing to use the English word "altar" to designate either the wooden device or the floor design.

The wooden slat altar is called a·tcιnι; I was told at Santa Ana that this is the ceremonial word for house (White, 1942 a, p. 330, n. 3). Many sketches, drawn by informants (sometimes redrawn by White artists), of these altars are to be found in other monographs on the Keres as well as in this one; Stevenson photographed several of them, publishing either the photographs themselves or drawings made from them. There is much specific variation among them, but also a marked generic likeness. The slat altar is never used, I believe, without the accompanying sand or meal painting, upon which medicine bowls, iarikos, and fetishes are placed. These altars are kept and used from year to year until they wear out; I believe they may be repainted from time to time.

The sand (or mineral pigment) or meal or pollen painting is called hʻa·atsi ('earth'; mother earth is called naiya, 'mother,' hʻa·atsi). At Santo Domingo (White, 1935, p. 11) and at Santa Ana (White, 1942 a, p. 21) I learned to call sand and meal paintings yaʙácιnyι. A good Sia informant explained that a yaʙácιnyι is "a hʻa·atsi upon which iarikos and other paraphernalia have been placed" (at San Felipe, however, "this lay-out of paraphernalia—particularly the meal painting and the fetishes—is known as ya·ʙaicιnι" (White, 1932 b, p. 44). Sand or meal paintings always accompany the use of the wooden slat altar, as we have just seen, but they may be used independently of the slat altar on certain occasions.

A common pattern in many ceremonies is to have the slat altar erected, behind which the medicinemen sit and sing; in front of the atcinyi is the meal or sand painting with the iarikos, fetishes, and medicine bowls placed upon it; a "road" of meal, over which spirits

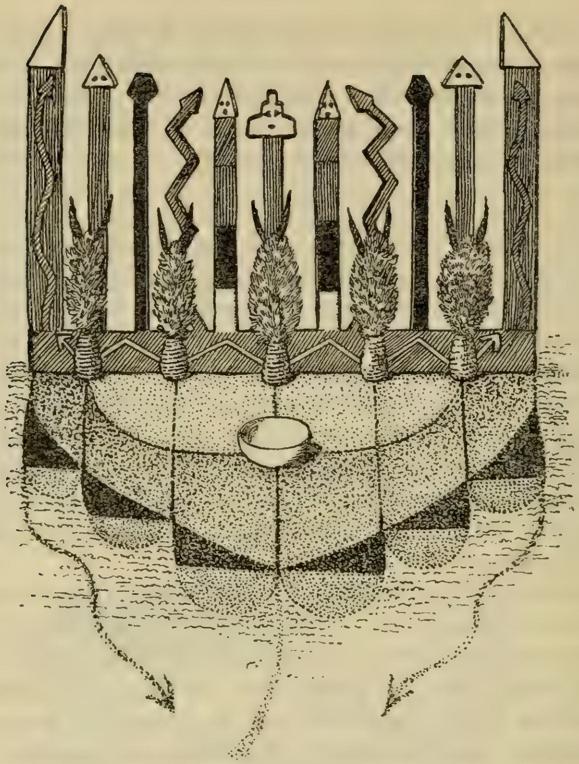

Figure 53.—Flint society altar.

travel as they enter the room to invest the images of themselves on the altar, leads from the meal painting to the door (figs. 45, 53).

## WÍTCATSI

One of my Sia informants, a member of one of the medicine societies, called quartz wítcatsi. He gave me a quartz pebble (fig. 54) which he said was a very important item of paraphernalia in the curing ceremonies. He did not specify its use (he was reluctant to talk about witches), but I am sure it is the same thing as the quartz crystal, or pebble, used at Acoma (White, 1932 a, p. 110), where it is called ma·caiyoyo and used to obtain supernatural vision to locate witches; at San Felipe (White, 1932 b, pp. 46–47) by medicinemen in curing; and at Cochiti (Dumarest, 1919, p. 156), where medicinemen used "a round, white, transparent stone," in order to see witches. The specimen obtained by me at Sia is the first actual identification of this article as far as I know. It is 4 cm. long, 3 cm. wide, and 2.5 cm. thick; it weighs 52.5 gm. It has been deposited in the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, catalog No. 25140.

Bits of quartz are placed in the cob of an iariko, as we have seen.

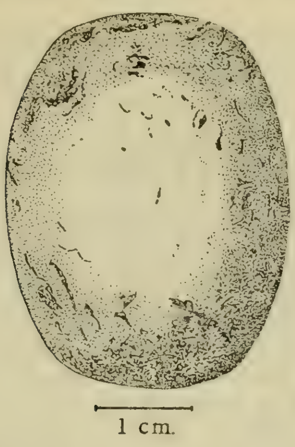

Figure 54.—Quartz pebble (witcatsi).

### DYÂTCA’AÎCTI

This is a small, naturally formed mineral object; it has the shape of two spheres “pushed” (joined) together. Some people wear them on a string around the neck. It contains a spirit: a maiyanyi or koʙictaiya. It may be placed inside the corncob of an iariko instead of a piece of quartz. My knowledge of this item is obviously incomplete.

### KATSINA ÓWAK (BABY)

This is made of wood, with a painted, beveled face, something like a prayerstick (see pl. 9, *a*, photograph of specimen No. 133854 USNM). It is given to a woman who wishes to have a baby by a masked katsina dancer; she may put it in a cradleboard (see White, 1942 a, fig. 11, p. 163).

### LIGHTNING SNAKE

This is a device made of slender sticks attached together so that the structure can be elongated or contracted. It has a lightning “head,” but it represents a snake: Ckatowɛ, the Snake of the North, or Gacʙana, the Snake of the West; if the former it will be decked with eagle tail feathers dyed red; if the latter, it will have black turkey feathers (fig. 55).

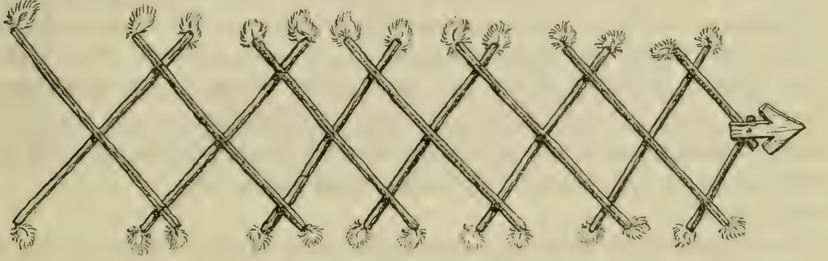

Figure 55.—Lightning snake.

# RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

We can form, I believe, a fair conception of the life and culture at Sia in 1540, the year in which Coronado entered the Rio Grande valley.[39] Climate, topography, flora, and fauna were then much as they are now. Sia had her pueblo neighbors, some speaking a language like hers; some, another tongue. There were the seminomadic Navaho, and perhaps Apache, who harassed the settled communities from time to time. The world of the Sia was a small one; not far beyond the horizons that one could see were the boundaries and the four corners of the earth. It was a cozy and intimate world. It was peopled with gods and spirits who had their homes at the cardinal points and at sacred spots not far from the pueblo itself. One knew everything; the mythology provided answers to all the important questions of life and death; one knew how the clans originated and why Sia had a Tiamunyi and War chiefs, and Koshairi, Kwiraina, Caiyaik, and the Flint, Fire, Giant and other societies. And one knew how to behave on every occasion: toward one's mother's brother, when one killed a bear, in the presence of katsina, when one dreamed of snakes, and how to send a soul, at death, back to four-fold womb of mother earth. It was a complete, compact, substantial, and satisfying world when all was said and done; when the balance was struck between hardship, suffering, and death on the one hand, and the fullness of life, of effort and achievement, on the other.

We can do but little more than speculate about what went on in the Indians' minds when the Spaniards invaded their land, first as adventurers and later as settlers and conquerors. There are no legends which present these events within a supernaturalistic, mythological, context: that the Spaniards were gods or sent by gods, or anything of that sort. What we know of the Keres inclines me to believe that they regarded the invasion and conquest by the Spaniards realistically, and accepted the facts for just what they were. We know well how the Indians resisted the White men, and how they resorted to concealment when they could no longer oppose them successfully. We know, too, how Sia suffered death and destruction at the hands of Cruzate in 1688. And it must have been especially galling to the Sia to be obliged to side with the Spaniards against other pueblos, during the reconquest, in order to save their own skins (see p. 24).

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[39] Bandelier attempted to do this for a generalized Keresan pueblo in his novel "The Delight Makers" (1890). In my opinion he succeeded quite well indeed.

Then there was that long era about which we know so little; from 1696 to the middle of the 19th centrury when American army officers and Indian Agents came upon the scene. The story they tell us about Sia is pathetic and depressing: a pueblo once great, according to the early Spanish chronicles about the Punames, now falling into utter ruin and decay. I have already noted, in my chapter on the history of Sia, the observations and comments of early Indian Agents and of John G. Bourke. Matilda Stevenson (1894, p. 9) observed:

> All that remains of the once populous pueblo is a small group of houses and a mere handful of people in the midst of one of the most extensive ruins of the Southwest, the living relic of an almost extinct people and a pathetic tale of the ravages of warfare and pestilence.

And Powell's (1894, p. xl) judgment was that they were "a decadent and rapidly changing people."

So sorry was the plight of the Sia around the turn of the century that the Bureau of Indian Affairs seriously considered removing the remnants of the population to another site:

> Supt. John B. Harper, in charge of irrigation for the pueblos, hopes to settle this question of water for the Sia Pueblo by moving them to fertile lands in the Rio Grande Valley below Bernalillo, on the Sandia grant. I hope this may be done, but I have advised Supt. Harper that it will, I fear, be impossible to secure the removal of the Sia Indians unless force is employed, and that we cannot use. [Report of the Indian Agent in Rept. of the Supt. to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1902, pp. 257–258.]

Three years later the same agent reported that the Sia had refused to move to the Sandia reservation: "They would prefer to remain where they are and starve than to join with the San Dia Indians. . . ." (Rep. Com. Ind. Affairs, 1905, p. 275.)

Early in the 19th century an American tourist visited Sia (Saunders, 1912, pp. 60–61):

> Once among the finest and most populous of all the pueblos, according to the chronicles of the Conquistadors . . . Sia is now desolate, its population dwindled through wars and epidemics to a bare hundred, its buildings in partial ruin, and its light all but gone out. . . . Most of the dwellings are tenantless and, to the casual visitor, the place seems hopelessly lifeless and uninteresting. . . . [Saunders talked with the American schoolteacher stationed there:]
>
> But it is sad business teaching here at Sia [she remarked], and watching the dying of a race. They are so reduced in numbers, it is no longer possible for them to keep up their institutions and their healthfulness in the way their traditions require them to do; yet they would rather die out as Sias than amalgamate with another pueblo. The Santa Ana people would like to have them go over there, which would seem a sensible course, strengthening both peoples; but the Sias cannot bring themselves to surrender. It shows a fine spirit, I think, and I cannot help honouring them for it, suicidal as it is.

## POPULATION INCREASE

But suicide was not to be the fate of the Sia, although it was literally true, I believe, as these observers judged, that they would indeed have perished in their home, and the home of their mothers and fathers, rather than move and live elsewhere. Eventually the tide began to turn. The figures for population provide us with the best index of the change. In 1880, as Bandelier noted, there were only 92 Sias (I am not willing to accept the figure of 58, in 1881, as accurate; see p. 36). In 1890, the population had increased to 106. But 20 years later it had reached only 109. After that, however, the climb was rapid. There was an increase of 28.5 percent between 1910 and 1920; 26.4 percent between 1920 and 1930; 32.8 percent in the 12 years between 1930 and 1942; and over 39 percent between 1942 and 1957. The population in 1957 was slightly more than 3.5 times as great as in 1880; it almost doubled between 1928, when I began my study of Sia, and 1957, when I did my last fieldwork there. Although I do not have the facts and figures to prove it, I believe it would be fair to say that this great increase has been due principally to a reduction of infant mortality as a consequence of better medical care, sanitation, and nutrition.

## TRANSPORTATION

As I have already noted (p. 81), Sia was very isolated until the 1930's. It was difficult for outsiders to reach the pueblo, and the Sia had only horses and wagons as means of transportation. The bridge across the river at Sia was built in 1939, and roads were built and improved. More people came to visit Sia and the Sia themselves increased their travels. In 1957 an informant gave me the names of 14 men in Sia who owned "pickup" trucks. This is the most useful vehicle for rural dwellers in this region whether Indian, Mexican, or Anglo-American. It is an automotive vehicle with an enclosed cab that will seat three persons, and a truck bed, which will accommodate a great many things: persons, wood, even a live heifer. These trucks provide transportation for many more than 14 households: for relatives and neighbors of their owners. In addition to the trucks, there were two automobiles and one station wagon in Sia in 1957. Isolation has given way, to a great extent, to mobility at Sia, and this, of course, means accelerated acculturation.

## HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

When I began my study of Sia in 1928, some households still did their cooking in a fireplace and bowls of food were placed upon the floor at meal time, the people sitting around them on little single benches about 5 inches high. In 1924, according to Halseth (1924 b, p. 72), "most of the houses now possess a table and a few chairs, and some even have a sewing machine and a kitchen range." By the 1950's, virtually all houses had at least the bare essentials of American furniture: a table, some chairs, a bed, probably a stove, perhaps a chest of drawers. Some houses were rather amply furnished. A few even had electric refrigerators, and one or two had cook stoves fueled with "bottled" gas. In 1928, households obtained their water supply from a community hydrant; in 1957, most of them had running water.

### ELECTRICITY

In 1951 electricity was introduced into Sia by an outside public utility. In 1957, 35 households had electricity; in 1960 there were 50 (the Indian Agency counted 65 "families" in Sia in 1956; this was, no doubt, the approximate number of households, also). It was used primarily for lighting, however; there appeared to be few appliances such as toasters, heaters, washing machines, and so on. Electricity had not been installed in kivas in 1957, but one informant was confident that it would be eventually; as a matter of fact, they were sometimes illuminated electrically by means of an extension cord from a residence. The Catholic church, also, was without electricity in 1957, but the Government school and teachers' quarters had it. Each household having electricity had its own meter and paid bills directly to the power company.

### PHONOGRAPHS, RADIOS, TELEVISION

In the 1920's there were a few phonographs in Sia, but no radios. A few of the latter were introduced during the thirties, and by 1957 there were a few television sets in the pueblo. There was, however, no telephone in the community except the one in the teachers' quarters, which was installed, of course, by the Indian Service.

### FARM IMPLEMENTS

In 1924, according to Halseth (1924 b, pp. 70–71), the Sia had virtually no farm implements except the plow and spade. The Indian Service had supplied them with "a few scrapers and an old disk, worn out by hard service." One family had a hay baler. Some machinery was introduced during the thirties and forties, and by 1957 there were seven automotive tractors in the pueblo.

### FACTORS OF CULTURE CHANGE

Sia culture has undergone change in virtually all sectors; in some the change has been profound, and everywhere the tempo has been accelerated. What have been the principal causes of this change? How is this process to be made intelligible? I shall review a number of factors and evaluate them as best I can.

### CHRISTIANITY

First, I would say that Christianity has done very little to undermine or destroy aboriginal culture.[40] To be sure, the Indians took over many elements of Christianity—concepts, rituals, and paraphernalia. But these were merely integrated with the aboriginal religion, leaving the latter as secure as before. When this study was begun in 1928 the native religion was vital, integrated, and substantial, and this after some three hundred years of Christian influence. And Sia has vigorously rejected all non-Catholic forms of Christianity, as we have seen. The Church has failed to change the Sia way of life appreciably.

### SCHOOLING

Most of the "book" learning the children have received in schools has been relatively insignificant as a force of culture change. For one thing, the pupils actually learned very little, and much of that was irrelevant to their life in the pueblo. Instruction in home economics in the boarding schools has had, I believe, a very considerable effect upon Sia culture at these points: food preparation and preservation, diets, sanitation and hygiene, child care, and matters pertaining to household furnishings and equipment. Also, the boarding schools have done much to break down the provincialism of pueblo children and to acquaint them with other cultures, both Indian and White. This has, without doubt, had a significant and softening effect upon the hard core of Sia culture.

### MARRIAGE WITH NON-SIAS

Marriage of Sias with non-Sias has had, I believe, very little effect on the process of cultural change. Evidence indicates that outsiders have been marrying into Sia for generations, and the percentage of alien spouses in Sia in 1957 was very small and probably not appreciably greater than in Stevenson's day.

### WAGE LABOR

Wage labor has been one of the most powerful forces at work in bringing about cultural change in Sia. In the early 1920's a few Sias found "outside employment . . . on the railroad which [was] under construction from Bernalillo to Jemez" (Halseth, 1924 b, p. 75). And, as Halseth observed, "a little money in the pueblo means improvement of conditions." Some Sias had outside jobs for years while this study was in progress. In 1957 there were 11 men and 5 women who were continuously employed outside the pueblo, in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, or on ranches or construction projects. Outside employment increased considerably after World War II.

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[40] Stevenson, too, was convinced that Christianity has been ineffectual in changing the beliefs and practices of the Sias. "It [the extinction of Sia culture] is not due to the Christianizing of these Indians, for they have nothing of Protestantism among them, and though professedly Catholic, they await only the departure of the priest to return to their secret ceremonials" (1894, p. 15).

Outside employment affects Sia culture in many ways. It removes men and women from the pueblo for a very large part of the time. No Sia was commuting daily to his job in 1957 as some Indians in other pueblos were doing. Some employed Sias return to their homes on weekends; some stay away at their jobs for weeks or even months on end. These absences expose the men and women intensely to outside cultural influence, and at the same time deprive the pueblo of their services in all capacities—religious and ceremonial as well as social, political, and familial.

Outside employment has been substituted for farming in some instances. Some land has gone uncultivated because its owner found wage labor more profitable. No doubt, stock raising has been affected, also. Agriculture, the age-old basis of pueblo culture, is being undermined by wage labor.

Employment outside the pueblo tends to foster a money economy, with its accompanying attitudes and values, which is radically different from the traditional customs of mutual aid and sharing of food and services on a kinship basis. I believe it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this factor.

And outside employment accelerates the introduction of foreign things and ways: concepts, attitudes, values, foods, medicines, periodicals, utensils, tools, household appliances, radios, television sets, automobiles, and many other things that affect Sia culture in varying degrees and for better or for worse.

### GENERAL IMPACT OF EURO-AMERICAN CULTURE

We might sum up the whole situation by saying that Sia culture is giving way under the impact of the culture of the White man generally. It is the attrition of White man's culture upon that of the Sias at every point that is wearing it away. Sia culture is being extinguished by erosion. I might cite one very interesting instance of how White man's culture in general is affecting profoundly the culture of the Sias at particular points:

In the early years of this study I was working with a Sia informant, an elderly man, in a room in a hotel in Albuquerque. Great precautions had been taken to make sure that no Indian, especially a

Sia, would see my informant enter the hotel and go upstairs to my room. While we were working the telephone rang and I answered it. My informant was obviously uneasy, suspicious, and, no doubt, afraid. My part of the conversation consisted almost entirely of "Yes . . . . yes . . . . I see . . . . yes, okay . . . ." etc. so that my informant could get no clue as to what the call was about. When I hung up, my informant demanded, "Who was that calling you?" "Oh," I said casually, "it was Hɛruta." Hɛruta, it will be recalled, is one of the principal kachinas, a rain-making spirit who lives at mythological Wenima. My informant looked dumbfounded. "Who?" he repeated. "Hɛruta," I said again, without smiling, as if it were an ordinary thing for me to receive telephone calls from kachinas. My informant studied the situation intently for a moment or two and then his face relaxed into a smile; he recognized it as a joke. We then chatted about it for a few minutes. I reminded him that he believed in some remarkable things—witches who could change themselves into dogs or burros, medicinemen who could restore stolen hearts, kachinas who could bring rain—why, then, could not a kachina do something as simple as to make a telephone call—"Why, a little Mexican boy could do that!" My informant stuck to his guns with regard to native concepts and beliefs, but he made it clear and emphatic that he could think of nothing more ridiculous than the notion of a kachina entering the city of Albuquerque, finding his way to a telephone, listening for the dial tone, dropping in his coin, and dialing the desired number. The two worlds were not only different; they were mutually incompatible.

The credulity of human beings has limits—although there are times when one may reasonably doubt it. These limits are culturally determined, and they are reached, one by one, as culture evolves to higher and higher stages. At one point it becomes impossible to believe that the earth is flat and motionless; at another, that witches causes trachoma. And there are many things that are making it increasingly difficult for the Pueblo Indians to believe in kachinas and medicinemen. No one has proved to them that kachinas do not exist or that the feats of medicinemen are not what they are supposed to be. It is simply that certain things are incompatible with certain contexts: a kachina in an urban setting availing himself of telephonic communication. My informant easily believed many things that required a great deal of credulity. But his credulity found its limits when I put Hɛruta in a telephone booth.

And so it is in general. As the Indians acquire more and more of White man's culture, and find themselves more and more within it and a part of it, they find it increasingly difficult to accommodate the traditional beliefs of their ancestors, and finally it becomes impossible.

## FUTURE OF SIA

What of the future of the Sia? Obviously, this depends upon many things, one of the most important of which is the policy of the United States Government: should it suddenly, or gradually, abandon its protection of the Pueblo Indians and place them at the mercy of State and local governments, and the avarice and covetousness of their neighbors, the consequences would be disastrous for the Indians. I shall hazard no guess as to what the Federal Government might or might not do within the next decade or generation. Assuming a continuation of Federal Government aid and protection, we can make a few meaningful observations with regard to the prospects of the Sia.

First of all, there is the tremendously impressive fact of their sheer survival. In the 1890's virtually all observers were sure that it was just a matter of time before extinction overtook them. They were desperately poor, half-starved and in rags, few in numbers and these declining, despised and ridiculed by their own Pueblo neighbors. But they never gave up. Nor did their spirit ever weaken or break; they continued to sustain a stout pride in themselves and their traditions. And they loved their pueblo with a quiet, but tenacious, passion. Through all their privations and hardships they maintained their institutions; their political and ceremonial organization was preserved intact. Few episodes in the history of man's struggle for survival are more impressive than that of the Sias; their strength, courage, tenacity and devotion are unsurpassed.

Now, in 1957, they are "over the hump." The protection and assistance of the United States Government have played an important role in their survival and success. They own their own land and pay no rent or taxes. The Government has helped them substantially in agriculture, irrigation, stock raising, sanitation, hygiene, medical care and schooling. There is still poverty and avoidable sickness and death, but they are making progress.

But, as they become more secure economically and medically, they are losing their Indian culture. This is inevitable. More and more of the culture of the White man will invade the old pueblo and establish itself there. And more and more Sia men and women will go out into the White man's world to find employment. Marriage with outsiders will doubtless increase, and some—and then more—will make their homes in the outside world. What poverty, hunger, and sickness could not accomplish in the past, security, success, and a modicum of prosperity will achieve in the future: the extinction of an aboriginal sociocultural system as it dissolves in the circumambient sea of the White man's culture.

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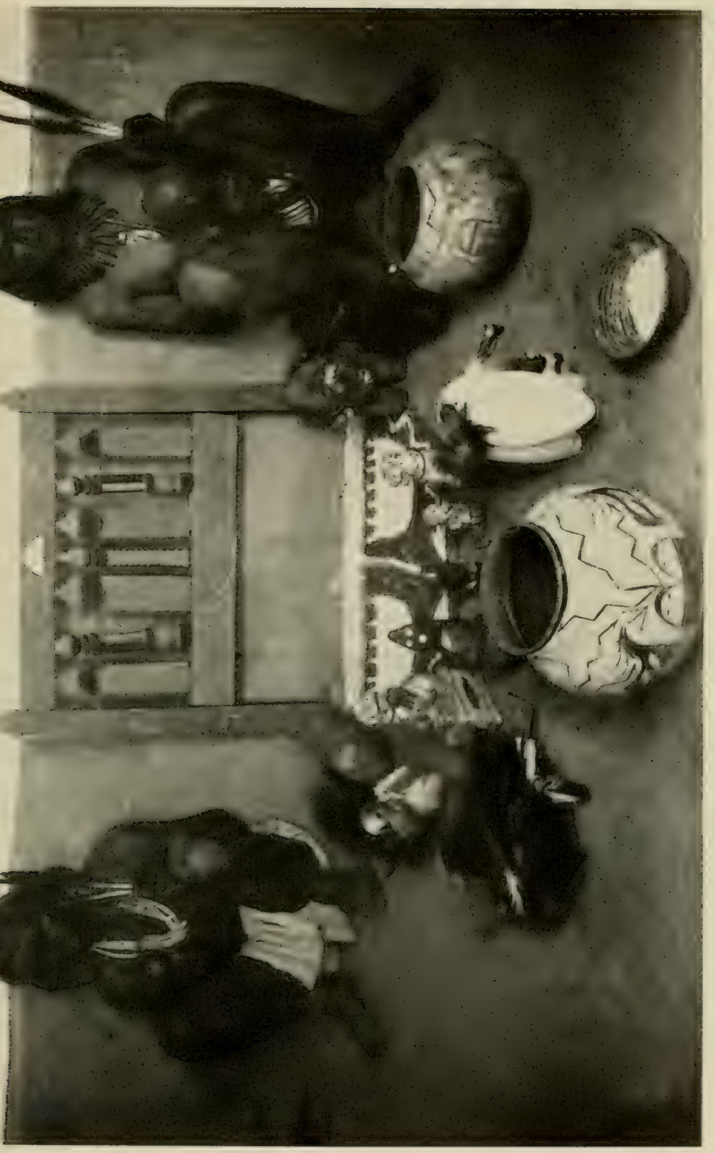
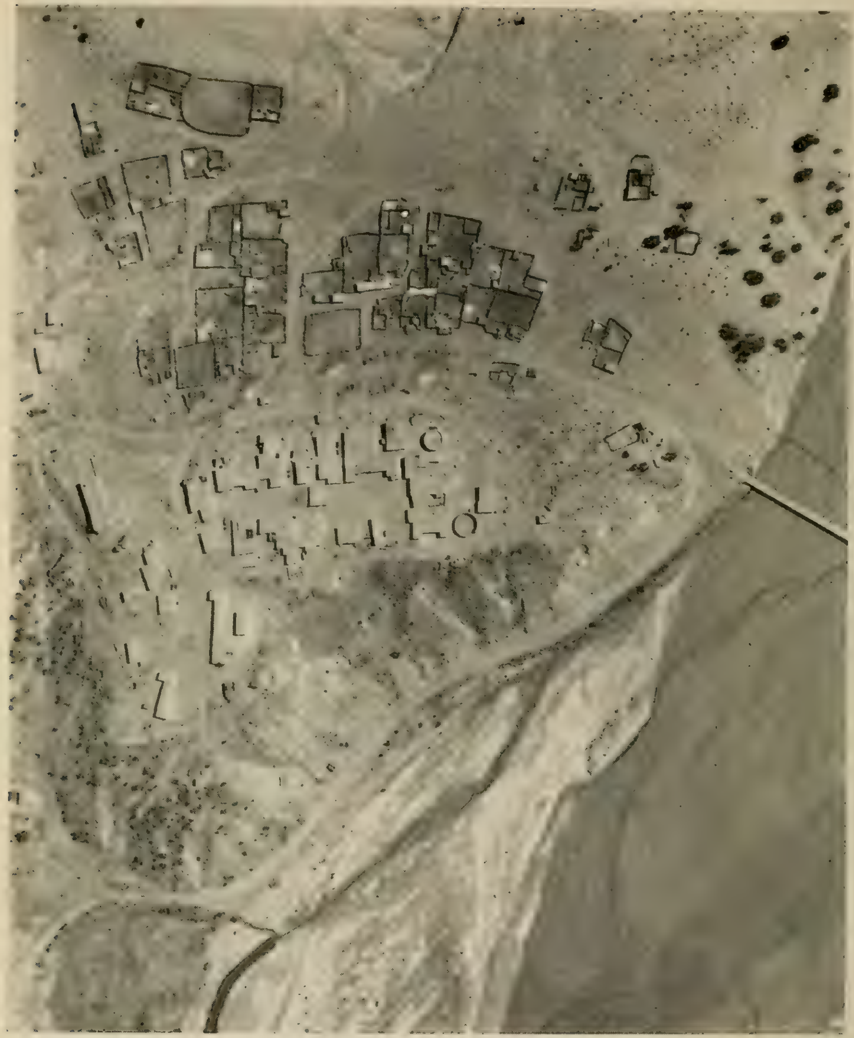
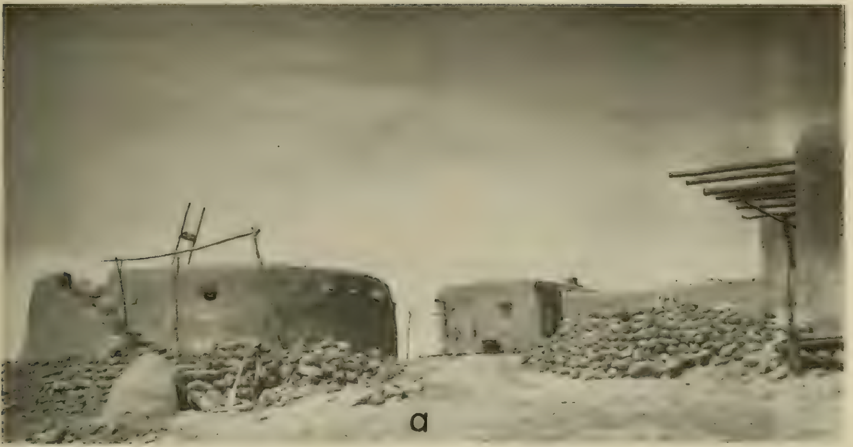
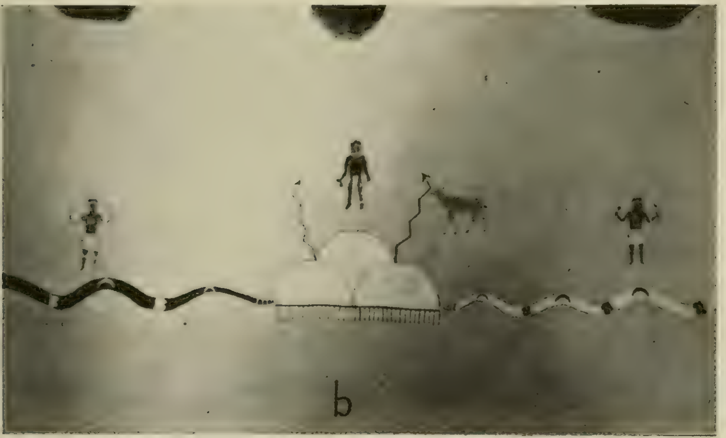


Altar of Flint society, showing Chinese lions.

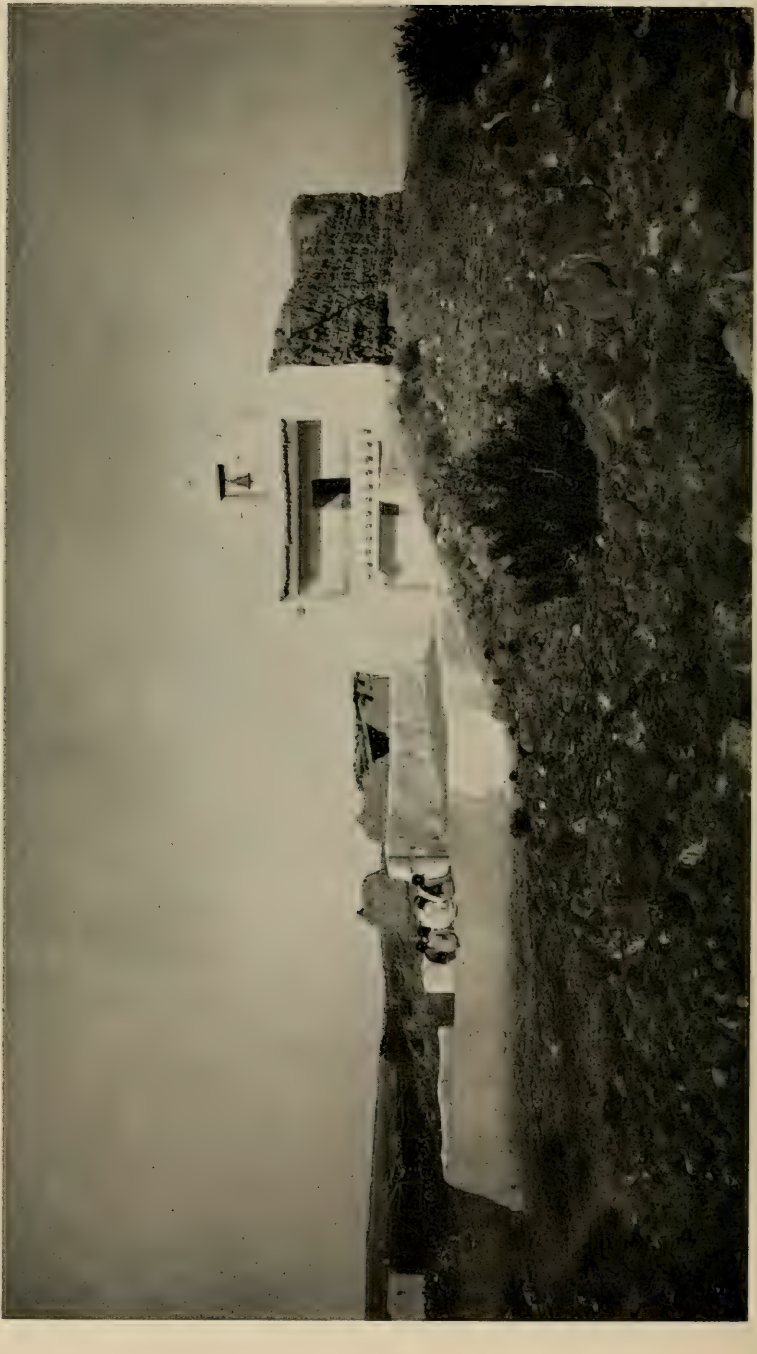


Aerial view of Sia pueblo (see fig. 8). (Courtesy Stanley Stubbs and University of Oklahoma Press.)

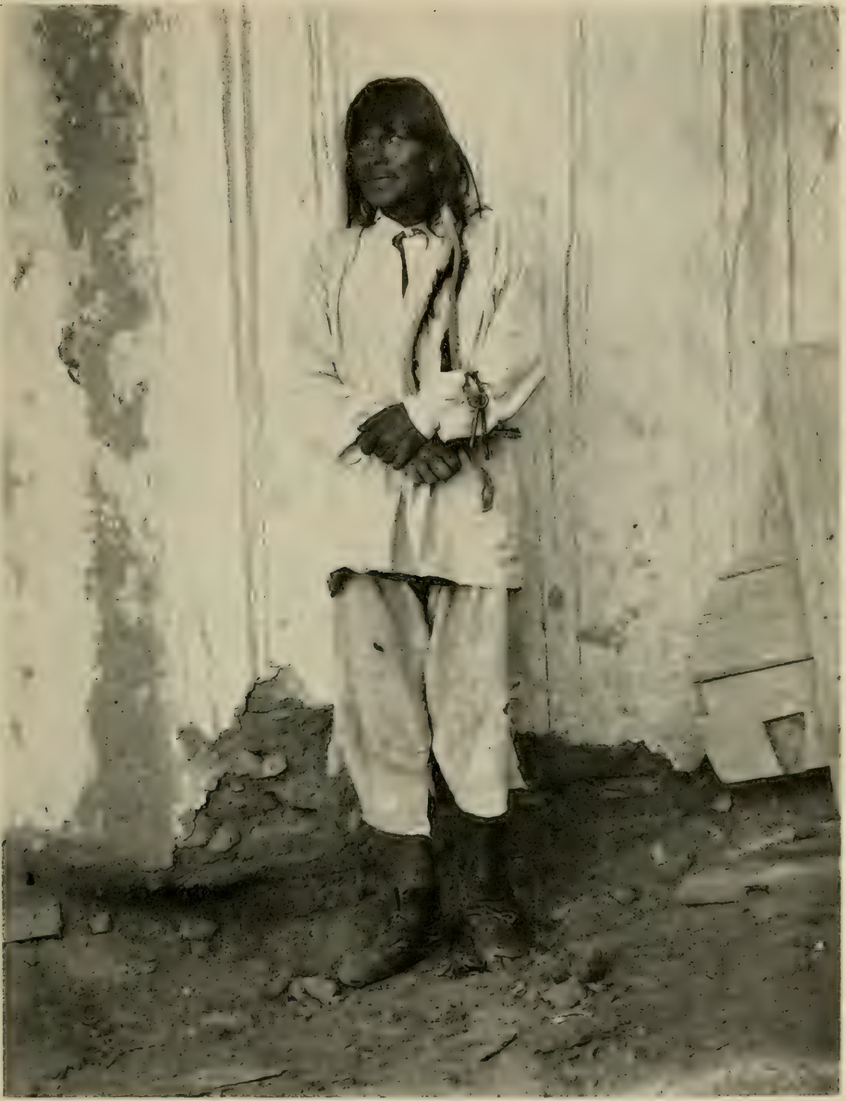




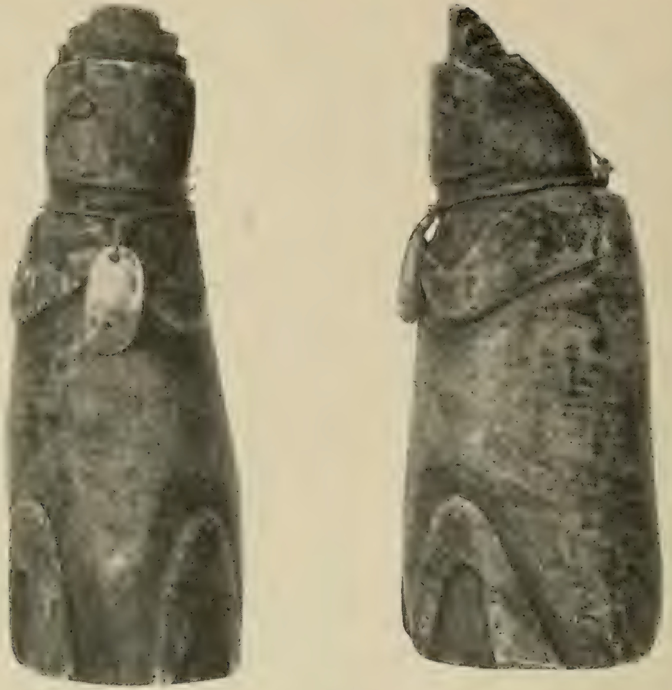
*a*, Sia turquoise kiva. *b*, Wall painting on Sia turquoise kiva.



The church of Sia, 1900 (Vroman).



The governor of Sia, 1900 (Vroman).



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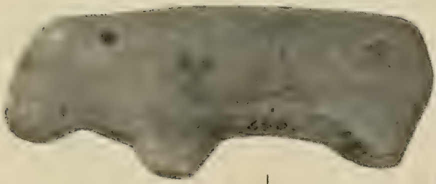

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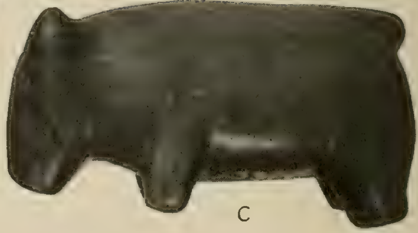
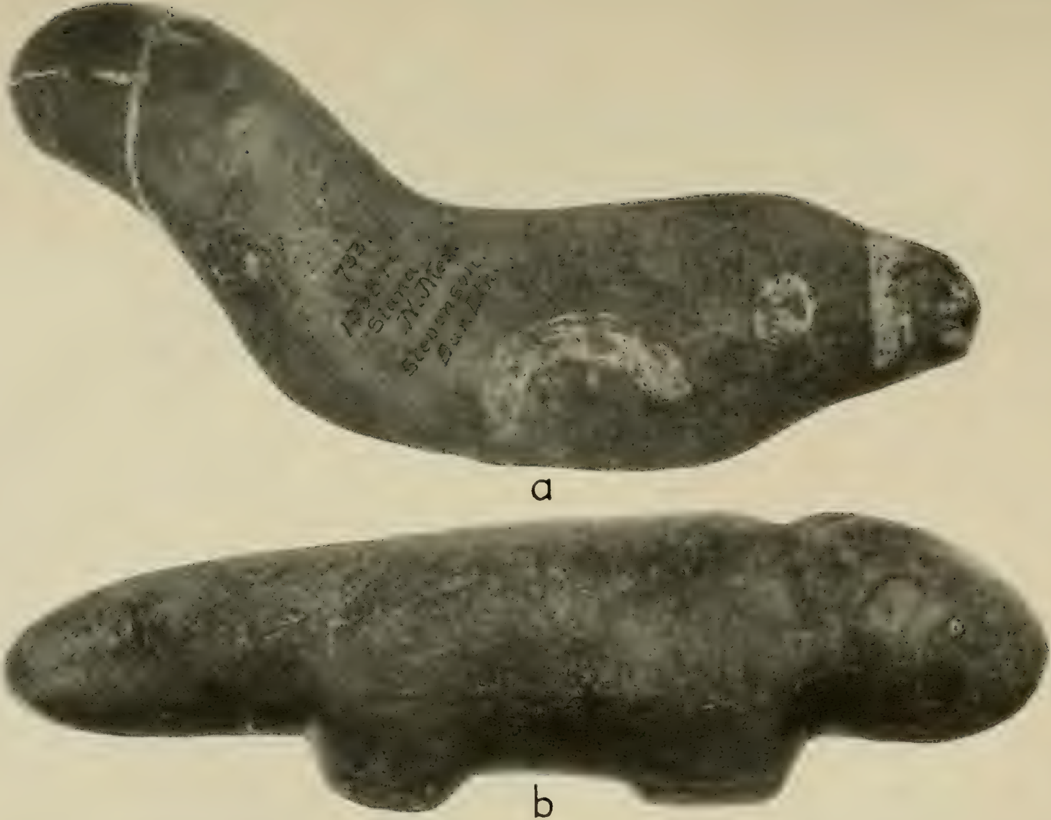
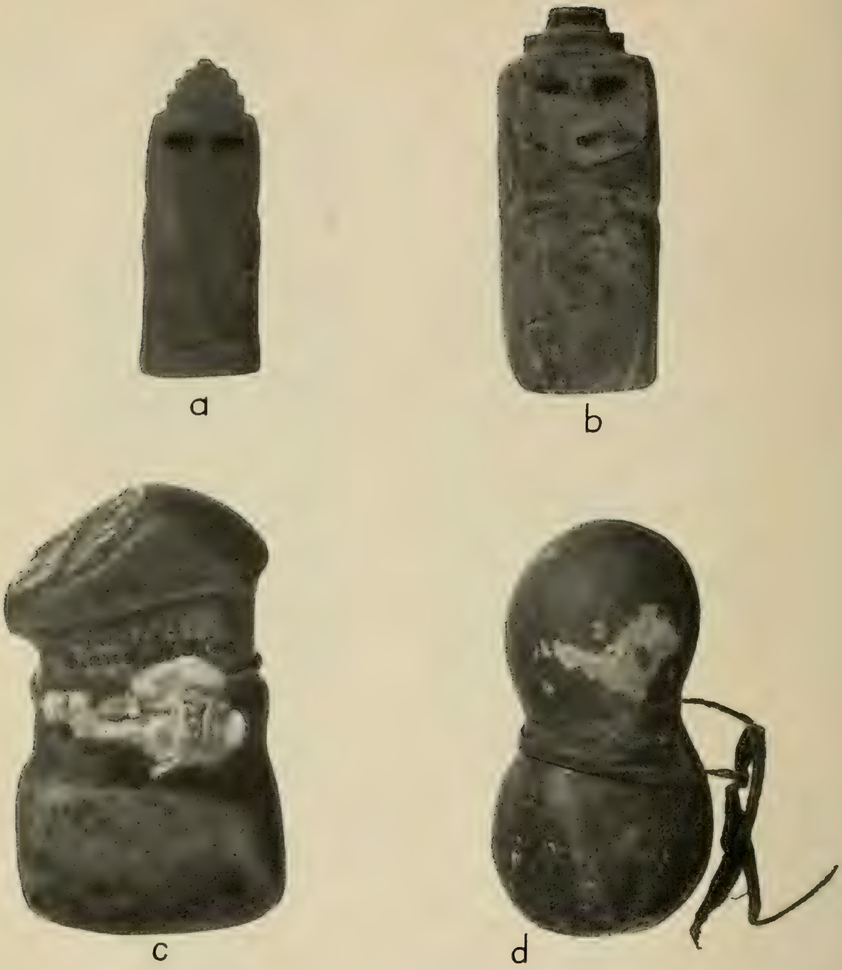


c

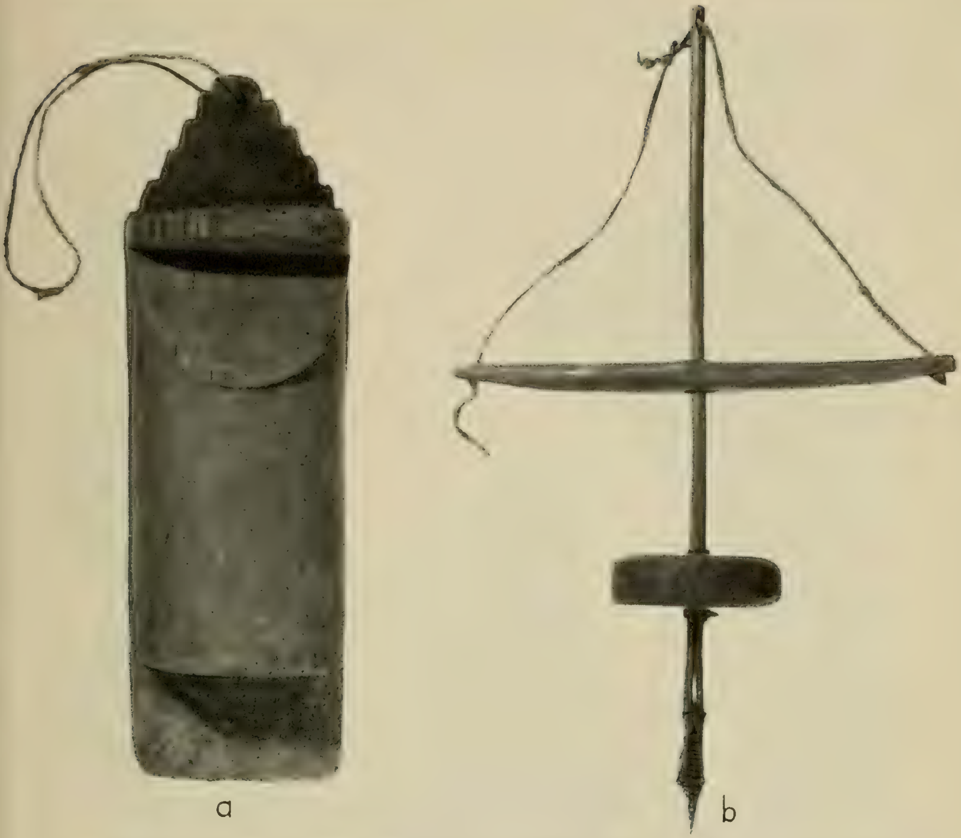
*a*, Anthropomorphic figure of calcite with terraced headdress; turquoise eyes and mouth. Height, 7 inches. (USNM 133761.) *b*, Animal figure of fine-grained marble; turquoise eyes. Length, 7 inches; height, 1⅝ inches. (USNM 133772.) *c*, Animal figure of volcanic tuff. Length, 4 inches. (USNM 133798.)



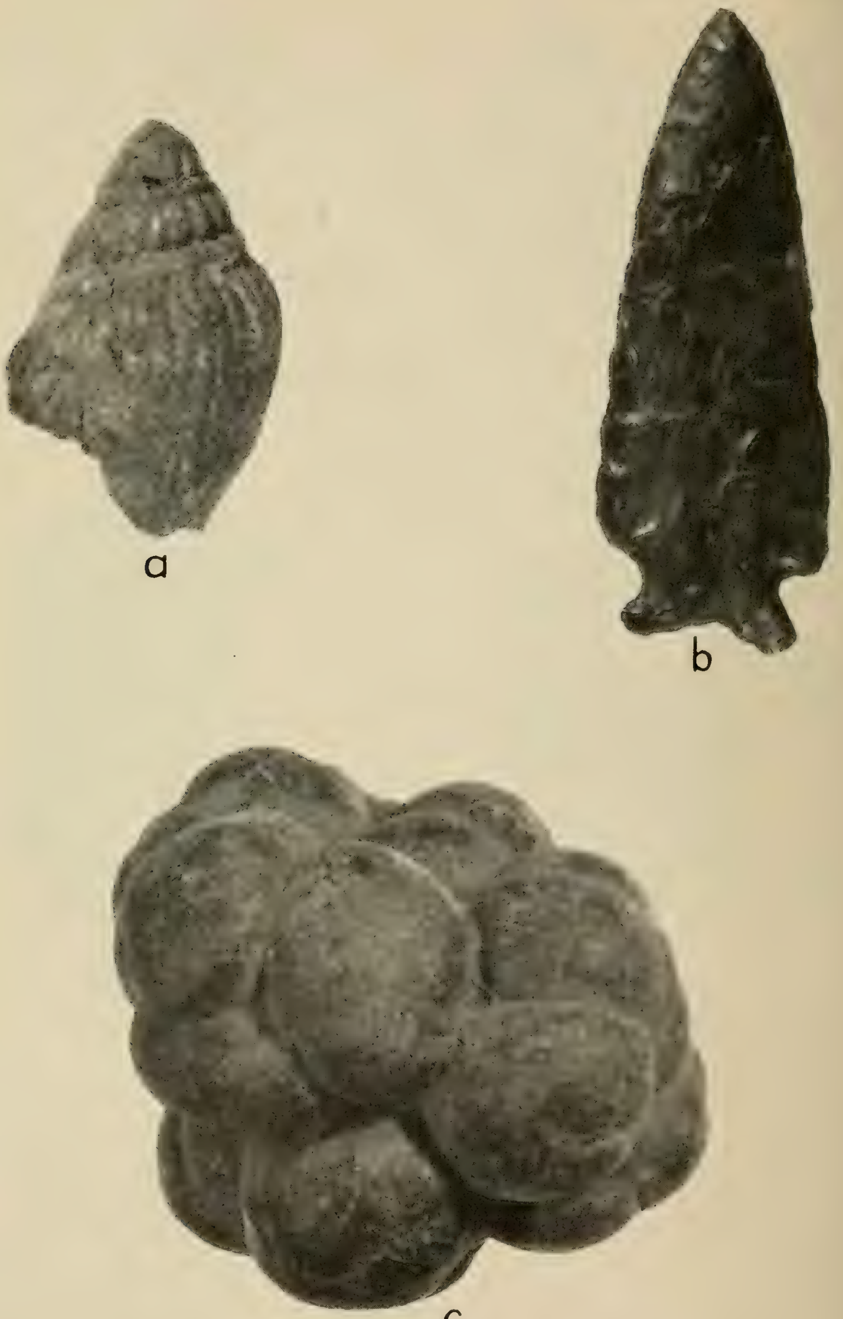
*a*, Natural formation of ferruginous sandstone. Length, 13½ inches. (USNM 133840.) *b*, Sandstone animal figure. Length, 12 inches; height, 3¼ inches. (USNM 133774.)



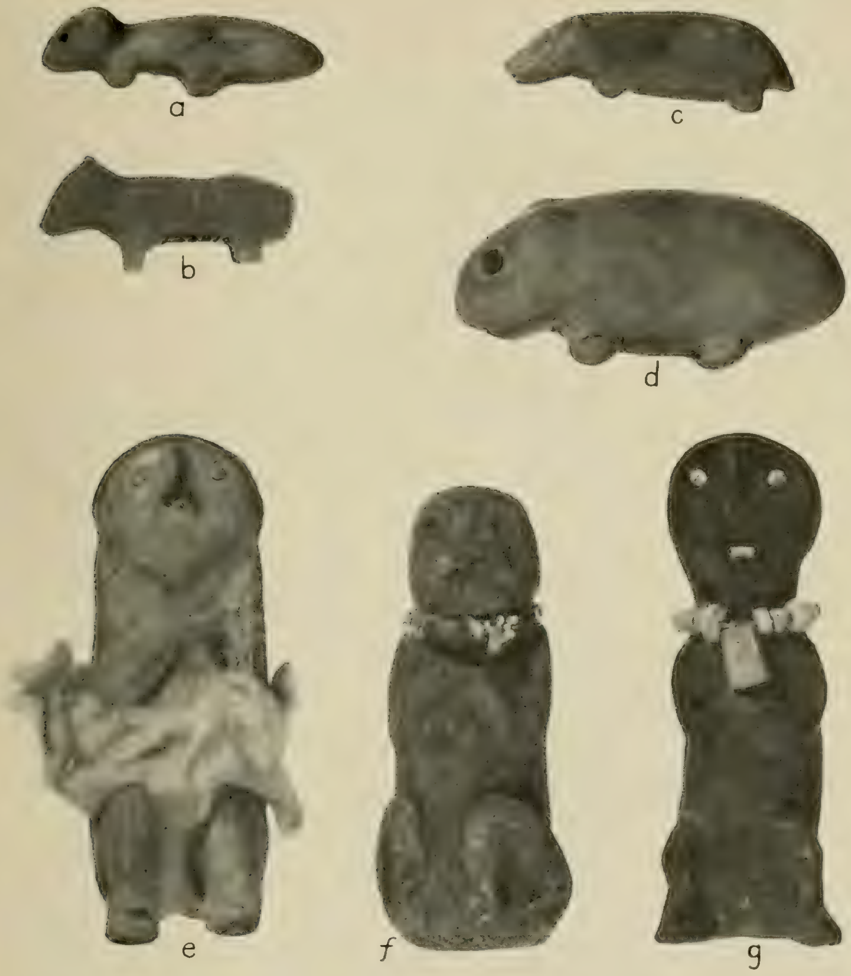
*a*, "Kachina" figure of Mexican onyx (calcium carbonate or "cave marble"). Height 2½ inches. (USNM 133770.) *b*, Human or "kachina" figure of calcite. Height 3⅛ inches. (USNM 133804.) *c*, Grooved ax of sillimanite (aluminum silicate). Length, 4¾ inches; width, 2¼ inches (maximum); thickness, 1⅜ inches (maximum). (USNM 133765.) *d*, Natural formation of fine-grained sandstone. Height, 3½ inches. (USNM 176386.)



*a*, Kachina ówak (baby). Height, 7¼ inches. (USNM 133854.) *b*, Turquoise pumpdrill. Height, 15 inches. (USNM 134170.)



*a*, Fossil snail (*Volutoderma*) from Mesa Verde sandstones (Late Upper Cretaceous). Length, 2¾ inches; width, 1¾ inches. (USNM 133839.) *b*, Knife of jasperized (fossil) wood. Length, 4 inches; width, $1\frac{7}{16}$ inches (maximum). (USNM 234751.) *c*, Calcite concretion. Maximum diameter, 3.5 inches. (USNM 133775.)



*a*, Animal figure of fine-grained white marble, said to represent a shrew. Length, 2½ inches. (USNM 152580.) *b*, Animal figure of Mexican onyx. Length, 2¼ inches. (USNM 133810.) *c*, Animal figure of fine white-grained marble. Length, 2⅝ inches. (USNM 133781.) *d*, Animal figure of white fine-grained marble; turquoise eyes. Length, 3½ inches. (USNM 152739.) *e*, Seated anthropomorphic figure of volcanic tuff; unspun cotton tied around the middle with cotton cord. Height, 4½ inches. (USNM 133766.) *f*, Anthropomorphic figure of calcite. Height, 4⅛ inches. (USNM 133787.) *g*, Anthropomorphic figure of volcanic tuff; abalone shell eyes and mouth; bead necklace. Height, 4½ inches. (USNM 133808.)

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